

America

MAY 21, 1949

Vol. 81, Number 7

A CATHOLIC REVIEW OF THE WEEK

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Chinese fireworks in Washington

Look for fireworks in Washington when the investigation of how U.S. policy on China was influenced by State Department pinks gets under way. A Senate Appropriations subcommittee headed by Senator Pat McCarran wants to know who was responsible for the policy, or lack of it, which led to the "tragic situation we find in China today." So it has asked the State Department for the loyalty and personnel records of four of its high-ranking officials: John Carter Vincent, now Minister to Switzerland, but formerly State Department "expert" on China and director for a time of its Office of Far Eastern Affairs; John Davies, a member of the Department's Planning Board; Walton Butterworth, director of the Office of Far Eastern Affairs; and John S. Service, now director of Foreign Service Personnel, but formerly foreign service officer in China, and adviser to the Department on China in 1945. Some will say that Senator McCarran has begun his probe just to get even with Secretary of State Acheson for the latter's abrupt dismissal of the Senator's recent demand for more aid to China. Be that as it may, a probe is in order. It is questionable, however, whether Mr. McCarran's subcommittee is the one to undertake it. There are enough indications that communist sympathizers controlled our China policy during the past five years to warrant a full-dress investigation of the record of the Office of Far Eastern Affairs during that period. A special investigating committee should be set up at once. It might begin with a study of Emmanuel S. Larsen's article in *Plain Talk* for September, 1946, "The State Department Espionage Case." Larsen was one of the group of State Department officials and journalists arrested after the FBI found top secret documents in the office of Philip C. Jaffe, editor of *Amerasia*. Larsen later charged that the whole case was "whitewashed," thanks to the power of the "pro-Soviet block in the Far Eastern Division of the State Department" which had engineered the recall of General Stilwell and the resignation of Ambassador Hurley and Under Secretary of State Grew. Now that our China policy since that time has seemed to play into the hands of the Communists, it might profit us to re-study Larsen's charges.

As goes China . . .

A great deal of China's territory and 150 million of its people are still free of communist domination. They can be kept free with comparative ease because "competent men in the Defense Department [of the U.S.] with Asiatic and air experience could work out adequate defense plans for the next couple of years at a cost per year not exceeding twice the Berlin airlift" (about \$350 million a year). If all China goes communist, all Asia "from the Bering Sea to Bali" will fall under the same savage yoke. With all Asia communist, "it is optimistic nonsense to suppose that Japan and the Philippines will remain peacefully on our side." With the Pacific imperiled, "we are fools if we think the United States will be safe." These were the highlights in Maj. Gen. Claire L. Chennault's recent testimony before the Senate Armed Services Committee. It was perhaps the most logical,

CURRENT COMMENT

cogent and frightening indictment to date of the Administration's "wait and see" policy. "We cannot afford to wait for 'the dust to settle,'" said the General, "for when the dust has settled it will have settled on us."

So goes the rest of Asia

General Chennault's analysis was not mere theory. Even as he spoke, the course of events was proving him right. Communist Parties throughout Asia have been heartened by the success of their Chinese fellows. Asiatic governments are so apprehensive that they are contemplating stronger anti-communist measures. It has been stated (though not yet confirmed) that the China Reds have signed a mutual defense pact with the Russian-supported North Korea regime and have pledged aid to Burmese Communists. Such alliances would link communist forces in an arc stretching all across east Asia. Dr. Syngman Rhee, President of Korea, sees the threat as so imminent that he wants to know: "In the case of an attack by an outside Power [and what can he have in mind if not the Communists from North Korea?] would the Republic of South Korea be able to count on all-out American military aid?" This question demands an answer—now. What rhyme or reason is there—to say nothing of moral integrity—in sending aid to Greece and in practically denying aid to China? Or doesn't more than half the world count for anything?

Indonesian agreement

One of the principal cards in the communist game for Southeast Asia (cf. Woodrow Wyatt in the *N. Y. Times Magazine* for April 10, 1949), was removed when a compromise was reached on May 7 between the Netherlands and the Republic of Indonesia. Under the terms agreed upon at Lake Success and confirmed the same day at Batavia, the Republic will return to its former capital at Jogjakarta and will resume operations as a functioning government. The Netherlands will free all political prisoners taken since her troops overran Republican territory in December, 1948. The Republicans guarantee cessation of guerrilla warfare once their cabinet is back in Jogjakarta, and they will take part in a round-table talk at The Hague devoted to the entire Indonesian problem. The Dutch have agreed to stop the formation of new states in Indonesia, and to open communications with all persons in the Republic. Details of the agreement will be worked out by special committees. Republicans

are disappointed that UN General Assembly debates on Indonesia are deferred to the fall. They had hoped through them to exert pressure upon The Hague. Dr. L. J. M. Beel, Netherlands High Commissioner in Indonesia, resigned as a protest against the compromise. The best working agreements in political affairs are those which none of the parties fully likes. Since that is the case in this instance, the path is now open for working out a final and genuine settlement. In view of the widespread communist ferment in Asia, such a settlement cannot come too soon.

Toward a United States of Europe

The ancient dream of a United States of Europe, a republic based on common traditions and mutual concerns, becomes progressively less visionary, less unrealizable. The sixteen-nation Organization for European Economic Cooperation is a successful expression of an existing community in terms of trade and finance. Solidarity in a common military security system was expressed last year in the Brussels Pact, soon to be extended and strengthened under the Atlantic Pact by the inclusion of Canada, the U.S., and others. Now a tentative step has been made toward ultimate political union. In Queen Anne's Room of St. James Palace, London, on May 5, ten nations signed the Statute of the Council of Europe. The inaugural meeting will be held in Strasbourg, France, probably in August, when Greece, Turkey and the new German Federal Republic are expected to join the original ten signatory nations—Britain, France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Ireland and Italy. The Statute provides for an incipient "Cabinet" composed of one delegate from each government and a Consultative Assembly of 87 members with delegates from each country in proportion to its population. Devoid of legislative powers, the Council will, nevertheless, give Europe a voice and a conference room for common problems. A sample of a down-to-earth project that will promote eventual political ties is the proposal of a unified regulatory system for Europe's trucking, something like that of our Interstate Commerce Commission. The Inland Transport Committee of the UN Economic Commission for Europe announced agreement on May 6 to break down frontier formalities and discriminatory internal regulations. ECA Administrator Paul Hoffman recently suggested how the Marshall Plan has served as a practical approach towards realizing the dream of a United States of Europe. "In order to build a united Europe," he

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Editor-in-Chief: ROBERT C. HARTNETT

Managing Editor: CHARLES KEENAN

Literary Editor: HAROLD C. GARDINER

Associate Editors: JOHN LAFARGE, BENJAMIN L. MASSE

EDWARD DUFF, EDWARD A. CONWAY

Contributing Editors: WILFRID PARSONS, ROBERT A. GRAHAM,

ALLAN P. FARRELL

Editorial Office: 329 W. 108TH STREET, NEW YORK 25, N. Y.

Business Office: 70 EAST 45TH STREET, NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

Business Manager and Treasurer: JOSEPH CARROLL

Circulation Manager: MR. HAROLD F. HALL

pointed out, "you first have to build Europeans." That is what we have been, and still are, doing. The rest is up to Europeans themselves. They are making real progress.

West German state

On May 8, fourth anniversary of V-E Day, the German Parliamentary Council ended its eight-month deliberations at Bonn with the adoption, 53 to 12, of a "basic law" to serve as the constitution of a federal republic composed of the Laender (states) in the U.S., French and British occupation zones. The capital of the new state will be Bonn. The statute is a lengthy and by no means simple document, and sets up a republic based on the European parliamentary system of government. It will come into effect upon ratification by two-thirds of the Laender and approval by the occupation authorities. The framers had perhaps a more formidable task than that which our Founding Fathers faced. The experience of the past quarter of a century has revealed new ways by which a democracy can be overthrown or commit suicide; and the problem of checks and balances is enormously complicated by the presence, in every modern state, of Communists sworn to the destruction of free government yet operating under the protection afforded by the status of a legitimate political party. How to check the Communists without endangering the liberties of all political parties is a question to which, even in our own country, we have found no wholly satisfactory answer. The new West German State faces a quick challenge from communism, which holds out a double bait to the unwary: the call for the "unity" of Germany, now dismembered between East and West; and the demand for the withdrawal of all occupation troops and the speedy conclusion of a peace treaty. The reunion of divided Germany and the departure of the conquerors' armies are objectives which must appeal to every patriotic German. The vote on the constitutional statute at Bonn is, however, a token that the Germans are not going to seek them at the price of national suicide.

Persecution in Poland

The arrest of Father Zygmunt Kaczynski, close confidant of Archbishop Stephan Vyshinsky, Primate of Poland, recalls ominously the arrest of Father Louis Zackar, secretary of Cardinal Mindszenty. An "extorted confession" will be useful as evidence in "trials" that are to be expected as the communist-controlled Government forces its showdown with the Church. March 14 is an important date in the campaign. On that day, abandoning indirect methods, the Government's Minister of Public Administration, Wladislaw Wolski, read an eight-point declaration to the secretary of the Hierarchy, Bishop Zygmunt Choromanski. The Polish Church was accused of the routine charges: tolerating the subversive activities of priests who are agents of Anglo-American imperialism; allowing "criminals of the underworld" to infiltrate religious societies, where they spread Vatican, anti-Polish propaganda; and refusing to applaud the triumphs of the new people's democracy. With a sickening protestation of belief in freedom of religion and the promise

never to interfere in "the internal affairs of the Church," the Government hinted that Catholic charitable and welfare projects are in jeopardy and appended a demand for a controllable national church. "Diocesan boundaries must be adjusted [a matter for Rome alone] in accordance with the new legal order and the frontiers of the State." Three hundred fifty priests are in jail; the Catholic press is smothered, explicitly forbidden to report their "trials"; the educational system is pledged officially to a "fight against any form of superstition"; "spontaneous" manifestations against the clergy are reported which pass the familiar "unanimous resolutions" against the anti-people's action of the Church.

The Church stands firm

"The truth must be told!" declared the Polish Hierarchy, answering the attacks in a pastoral letter read in all the churches on April 24 and recently received here. The truth includes the open record of a thousand years of service by the Catholic Church to the Polish nation. It includes the work of the priests who were "the first to teach the people of the freedom of God's children and the high dignity of every worker and plowman." It includes the activities of the religious orders who did "the work of the non-existent ministries of health and social security." Now "the critical hour for our Christian conscience has struck." The courage and hope of the cry "*Polska powstanie*"—"Poland will live"—is heard anew.

Asbestos strike continues

An earnest appeal for assistance for families of strikers in a four-month-old walkout at the Asbestos and Thetford Mines, in the Province of Quebec, was issued on behalf of the Quebec Provincial Sacerdotal Commission of Social Studies through its president, Msgr. J. C. Leclaire of St. Hyacinthe, Quebec. All associations were asked to collaborate with the religious authorities in organizing a collection for the strikers' families. The strike affects some 3,500 workers who are members of Catholic unions. On May 1, Archbishop Charbonneau of Montreal urged the clergy and laity of his archdiocese to respond to the appeal. At the same time he asserted the duty of the Church to intervene when the interests of the working man are at stake, and expressed the desire that the governmental authorities of the Province of Quebec would give to its people "a labor code which would be a formula of peace, justice and charity that would respect the worker." In the meantime efforts to settle the strike continued in a stalemate, with charges and counter-charges being made by industrial, union and Provincial leaders. The controversy is having international repercussions. According to *Asbestos* magazine (Chicago), "from the section of Quebec in which these mines are located comes about 65 per cent of the world's asbestos supply. Mining officials estimate that 90 per cent of that has been cut off by the strike." The union, the Asbestos Syndicate of the National Federation of Mining Industry Workers, is affiliated with the Confederation of Canadian Catholic Workers (GTCC), some of whose spokesmen charge that

if they lose out, other and more radical unions will move into their place. (For a statement of the position of the Johns-Manville Corporation, one of the principal mine owners, see Correspondence, page 272 of this issue.)

Towards efficient government

From past experience ("The Hoover Reports: background history," AM. 4/2, pp. 711-712) we have learned 1) that only the President can reorganize our overgrown Federal administrative machinery, and 2) that Congress is extremely shy about giving him the authority to do the job. Pet agencies of Congressmen would be exposed to "streamlining." To students of public administration, this term means "efficiency." To many Congressmen it means only that "Pete Anderson would lose his job." It is therefore encouraging to notice that Congress is accepting some recommendations of the Hoover Commission, even though no action has been taken on the general overhauling of "big government." The Senate Committee on the Armed Services, on May 6, tentatively approved an economy plan for the military services presented by Ferdinand Eberstadt, task-force director of the Commission. On the same day another Senate committee approved a bill to set up a new centralized authority to buy all government equipment. This, too, follows a recommendation of the Hoover group. There is a third example of the effect the Commission is having on Congress, at least in the Senate: the latter passed and sent to the House a measure giving Secretary of State Acheson four more Assistant Secretaries. On May 9 the President asked Congress to act on the general reorganization bill. Even Senator Taft is with him on this issue. It will take an alert public opinion, however, to build a fire under Congress. Next week's AMERICA will carry an article summarizing all the Hoover Reports. If you are really interested in efficiency in Washington, write your Senators and Congressmen. It's entirely up to them—and to you.

Continued counsel on health legislation

On the admission of Senator Elbert Thomas, chairman of the Senate Labor and Welfare Committee, there is no expectation of action on the Administration's proposal for compulsory health insurance before the next session of Congress. Even so, counsel continues to be offered. Dr. Lowrie J. Porter, president of the American Association of Orthodontists, opened its 45th annual convention in New York on May 3 with a demand for the defeat of legislation that would make dentists "subject to the straitjacket of socialized medicine" and would lower dental standards. Speaking in Chicago the day before, John L. Thurston, assistant administrator of the Federal Security Agency, assured the Assembly of the Tri-State Hospital Association that "provision of a decent degree of social security by this means [compulsory, public insurance] is one of the best, if not the only, way in which a highly complex and progressively industrialized democratic society can relieve pressures which lead to socialism." Experience under Britain's National Health Service was disclosed in the April 28 issue of the British Medical Journal. An official survey showed an increase

of only four per cent in the number of adults seeking medical attention. Your neighborhood doctor's waiting room will offer silent counsel. The familiar Fildes picture of the bearded doctor anxiously scanning the face of a sick child will be hanging on the wall with the caption "Keep Politics Out of This Picture!" The poster was devised by Clem Whitaker, smart public-relations expert brought in to run the AMA anti-Administration bill campaign. Smarter is his remark: "If we are able to double the sales of voluntary health insurance in the United States this year, we will have done more to convince Congress that compulsory health insurance is unnecessary than we could do with the highest paid lobby that could be imported into Washington."

Contrary Catholic counsel

The *Catholic Mind* for June will reprint the Statement "A Voluntary Approach to a National Health Program" issued on April 18 by three Catholic organizations: the Bureau of Health and Hospitals (NCWC), the National Conference of Catholic Charities and the Catholic Hospital Association. An official diocesan paper, the *Pittsburgh Catholic*, is less than enthusiastic about the Statement. "Why not," the editor asks in the April 21 issue,

enroll everybody in the country in a health-insurance plan, paid for by contributions from all (taxes) and entitling everyone to the medical and hospital care he needs. Doctors and hospitals are willing to be paid now by the corporations which conduct the insurance plans; why should they be unwilling to accept pay from the Government?

Writing as a Catholic in the *Labor Leader*, organ of N. Y. Chapter of ACTU, on May 9, Representative John D. Dingell, one of the sponsors of the Administration bill, protests: "I shall follow as my guide the great Encyclicals in my interpretation of my duties to my fellow man." The May issue of *Work*, publication of the Catholic Labor Alliance of Chicago, carries an open letter from the editors to Senator Murray expressing regret that Catholic hospitals, sisters, doctors and nurses are putting themselves in the way of legitimate public aspirations. CIP Correspondence for May 7 answers its question "What is the responsibility of government for the health of its people?" with the reply: "Primarily to encourage and aid, not to control and replace, the voluntary agents immediately engaged in the field." It will take much wisdom, complete honesty and legislative flexibility to protect that principle in the midst of what the *Journal* of the AMA for April 2 termed "essentially a political controversy."

Bought press in Illinois

The St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* and the Chicago *Daily News* have been doing a public service by unearthing evidence to prove that former Governor Dwight H. Green put many newspapermen on his payroll. So far, fifty-one have been listed as having received \$480,000 in State money. In many instances the practice may not have been wrong, as when sports writers were engaged to do publicity work for State agencies. But the case of Paul H. Mueller, editor of the Chicago *Abendpost*, German-language daily, looks bad. He received \$18,175 in State

funds from 1943 to last fall, when Governor Green lost to Adlai E. Stevenson by 572,067 votes—as against Senator Douglas' 407,728 and President Truman's 33,612 plurality in Illinois. We are more interested in the betrayal of the independence of the press than in the party politics involved. Mr. Mueller is quoted as having remarked: "I did some publicity work for the auditor and wrote some editorials for him—yes, quite a few editorials." If a newspaper operates as a paid house-organ for a political party, the editor in common honesty should advertise the fact to his readers. We can take heart from the fact that a bought press completely failed to impress Illinois voters, and from the additional fact that a free press has dug up and publicized this story of misbehavior in the fraternity. What bothers us is the question Robert S. Allen, radio newscaster, asked on his program Sunday evening, May 8: Why has the daily press in the East taken so little notice of this scandal in its own house? As the Commission on Freedom of the Press has insisted, *the real threat to a free press in America today does not come from governmental control, as the big press associations give out, but from the danger that the large dailies, and especially the newspaper chains, will sell out to private economic interests*. A political party is such an interest. Why is the Illinois scandal being given the silent treatment on the Atlantic seaboard? On May 10 the resignation of three staff-members of the Danville, Ill., *Commercial-News* was announced in an AP dispatch from Rochester, N. Y. All were among the fifty-one listed as having received State funds.

Federal school health bill

In connection with our editorial, "Catholics and Federal aid" (pp. 250-251 of this issue), we remind our readers that on April 29 the Senate, by a voice vote, passed the \$35-million bipartisan school health bill. This bill *does* make provision for Federal aid to children in *all* schools. Like the Federal lunch measure, it provides that the Federal Government shall aid our children directly, where State law prohibits the use of State funds on a matching basis.

Shylock and Fagin

If former New York City magistrate Joseph Goldstein is really interested in fighting anti-semitism, he will be well advised to drop his silly campaign to have Dickens' *Oliver Twist* and Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice* banned from the city's public schools. No teacher in his senses would ever allow his class to get the impression that Shylock or Fagin is representative of the Jewish people. And the teacher, or anybody else, who wants to spread anti-semitism is going to find a way, even though he be deprived of Dickens and Shakespeare. It is only because anti-semitism already exists that Shylock and Fagin can become propaganda weapons. If it did not exist, they would be no more harmful to the Jews than, say, Macbeth to the Scots or King Claudius to the Danes. Judge Goldstein is helping nobody except those who like to believe that all talk about anti-semitism is simply hysteria.

WASHINGTON FRONT

With Congress, at this writing, temporarily retired to committee work after two hectic weeks of battling, it may be in order to offer some reflections on a congressional practice that has grown and expanded.

I refer to what is known as the "rider." The rider is a clause or provision inserted in a bill during debate, although it is completely extraneous to the main purposes of the bill. It has several uses. One common use is to tack onto some bill which the President wants or would not dare to veto a provision which, taken by itself, the President would surely veto (though Presidents have on occasion vetoed bills with such riders when they knew the Congress would not dare let the main bill die on account of the veto.)

Another type of rider is added to kill the bill in Congress itself. Many a bill has been "amended to death." By the time all the amendments are in it, the bill in its final form is so objectionable to so many members that it is beaten, though probably a majority really wanted the bill as it was first proposed.

During the recent flurry of debating and voting in the Senate, a particularly obnoxious form of rider was attempted on two occasions. In both cases, a proviso for equal rights for Negroes was offered, one on the housing bill by Senator Bricker, another on the bill for Federal aid to education by Senator Lodge. In both cases, the amendment was defeated, and both bills finally passed without the riders. With the riders in the bills, both would certainly have been defeated by Southern Senators.

Senator Bricker, who was against low-income housing, undoubtedly offered his amendment in the confident expectation 1) that the Democrats and liberal Republicans would not dare vote against it; and 2) that once the rider was in the bill, the Republican-Southern Democrat coalition would defeat it. The unworthy maneuver failed, being killed by the liberals themselves. It is not so certain that Senator Lodge had the same end in mind, though the effect would have been the same. As I have mentioned before (AM. 2/5/49), the education bill objectionably canonizes the segregation principle in public schools both North and South.

Unfortunately, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) was by necessity forced to support both amendments, though in at least one case their leaders viewed with extreme distaste the spectacle of their people being used as a mere parliamentary football. The civil-rights program will not be achieved piecemeal. Too many interested parties are going to use it to defeat bills they do not like. It can be used for this purpose to defeat almost any social-welfare bill. I have no doubt that the whole civil-rights program will ultimately be adopted before the end of President Truman's term. But when it is, it will be on its own merits, not as a parliamentary trick.

WILFRID PARSONS

UNDERSCORINGS

Summer Occasions: Center for Men of Christ the King, Herman, Pa: "Laboratories in Group Development for Catholic Action," June 19-25; July 10-16, 24-30; Aug. 7-13 . . . University of Notre Dame: Writers' Conference, June 27-July 2; Workshop in [Student] Guidance, June 28-July 26 . . . Grailville School, Loveland, Ohio: School of Formation (12-week course), June 9-Sept. 1; component one- and two-week courses during June, July, August . . . College Misericordia, Dallas, Pa.: Institute for Religious, Aug. 19-30 (write Rev. Joseph Gallen, S.J., Woodstock College, Woodstock, Md.) . . . National Catholic Rural Life Conference Institutes for Seminarians: Camp Holy Cross, Burlington, Vt., Aug. 28-Sept. 3 (write Rev. Francis Candon, Barton, Vt.); Spring Bank, Wis., Aug. 14-20 (Rev. Gabriel Hafford, St. Francis Seminary, 3257 S. Lake Drive, Milwaukee 7); Lafayette, La., date not set, (Rt. Rev. Msgr. Hubert Lerschen, Rayne, La.) . . . Conception Abbey, Conception, Mo.: Liturgical Conference, Aug. 22-26.

► The Confraternity of the Precious Blood distributes gratis to priests its "Weekly Ordo Pages and One-Minute Sunday announcements." Each detachable page gives the Ordo directions for the week, as well as reflections on the various parts of the Mass and the seasonal feasts. They are meant to be slipped into the breviary during the week and to be used as part of Sunday's announcements. (5300 Ft. Hamilton Pkwy., Brooklyn 19, N. Y.)

► Speaking on the Catholic Hour, May 8, Rev. Francis J. Connell, C.S.S.R., returned to a subject to which he has given much time and thought—morality in public office. "There seem to be some of our public servants," he said, "who have the idea that the laws of morality bind them only as private citizens, not as civil officials." A man in public office, he asserted, has the duty to acquaint himself with the ethical and social principles necessary for the proper fulfilling of his duties—

principles concerning the right of labor to organize, the right of the workingman to a just salary, the right of parents to educate their children, the extent to which the police power can supersede the personal rights of the individual citizen.

► Brother C. Justin, F.S.C., head of the Labor-Management department of the School of Business at Manhattan College, New York, has been awarded the 1949 Quadragesimo Anno Medal by the New York chapter of the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists, in recognition of his work as "a pioneer of social doctrine in Catholic education."

► Rev. Jean Delanglez, S.J., research scholar in the early history of the Mississippi Valley, died May 9 at Loyola University, Chicago, at the age of fifty-three. Besides frequent contributions to *Mid-America*, he wrote or edited eight volumes, including Gilbert Garraghan, S.J.'s *Guide to Historical Method* (1947).

C. K.

Prospects at Paris

As May 23, date of the meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers in Paris, approaches, everyone is wondering what surprise proposals the Soviets will make.

The Four Power communiqué announcing the forthcoming Ministers' meeting said that it would "consider questions relating to Germany and problems arising out of the situation in Berlin, including also the question of currency in Berlin." Practically everything under the high western heavens "relates to Germany" at this time: borders, reparations, the Ruhr, Berlin currency, occupation forces, the peace treaty, even Austria. The Russians may propose discussion of any or all of these problems, any one of which could fill the whole three weeks to which the West wants the meeting limited.

Inevitably the Russians will propose the unification of all four zones under a centralized government in Berlin. To this they may add the offer to withdraw their troops from Germany if the Western Powers will withdraw theirs. Both of these proposals will be as welcome to the Germans as they are embarrassing to the Western allies. Presumably the latter are preparing an answer in the preliminary conferences now in progress. The odds, however, are against their finding a counter-proposal that will satisfy the Soviets, the Germans, and ourselves.

The Constitution, or basic law, of the West German Federation has been approved by the Bonn Constituent Assembly, but it has yet to be ratified. The Russians will not rest until they have prevented that ratification. A free, federated West Germany would soon leave Russia's East German zone far behind on the road to complete recovery. It would irresistibly attract the support of the Socialists in the Soviet zone, now controlled by the comparatively few real German Communists.

The most potent weapon within grasp of the Russians is the intense desire of the Germans themselves for a unified Germany. It was only with great reluctance that the political leaders of West Germany were prevailed on to meet at Bonn nine months ago, and they did so only because we convinced them that a Germany three-fourths united was better than no union at all. Once the Soviets propose four-zone unification, no German politician will be able to oppose it without running the risk of being charged with perpetuating German disunity. In fact, he would be violating the spirit of the new Constitution itself, which, in its preamble, repeatedly calls for the unity of all Germany.

So it appears that the eastern-zone Germans will have to be taken into the German Republic at its very inception. Much debate may be expected on the manner of their admission. Will they be represented in the new Government by the Soviet-dominated People's Council, or by representatives chosen in free democratic elections? If the Western Powers agree to the former, will we not witness another "coalition government"—which Communists know so well how to take over? If the Soviets should unexpectedly accede to the demand for free elections, what assurance do we have that even four-Power supervision would guarantee their freedom? We have not

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forgotten the "free and unfettered" Polish elections of January 19, 1947.

If, in the face of that experience, we should agree to supervised elections, let's supervise them with our occupation troops. While we might agree to the withdrawal of some of our forces, it is unthinkable that we should evacuate Germany entirely for years to come. The punitive phase may be over, as Gen. Clay observed in his farewell address at Grafenwoehr on May 4, but controls, as he contended, should not be abandoned until a democratic Germany is guaranteed.

Considering the infinite ingenuity of Red termites, we wonder if *any* supervision can circumvent them. Hence our pessimism over the Paris pow-wow.

Catholics and Federal aid

The Senate, by an impressive vote of 58-15, passed the Thomas bill providing Federal aid to education. The House has yet to act.

The arguments in favor of Federal aid undoubtedly carry weight. Not only is wealth very unevenly distributed from State to State, but so is the number of children to be educated from State funds. In 1940, South Carolina had twice as many children of school age as California. Yet California had a considerably higher per capita income. The poorer States, though they spend much less on education per child than States having much more to spend, nevertheless often devote a higher percentage of their total income to their schools.

This gross inequality of educational opportunity is properly a national concern. Every child in a poor State is a citizen of the United States. To make his political, economic and cultural contribution to the nation, he needs a good education. How can he vote intelligently in national elections—for President and for members of Congress—unless he is well schooled? Besides, millions of children educated in one State move to another.

On the other hand, education remains primarily a State responsibility. Unless we are to nationalize our school system entirely, it should remain so. Our problem, then, is one of providing only such Federal assistance to the States as is absolutely necessary to overcome otherwise insurmountable barriers to improved schooling. Only by limiting Federal aid to areas of proven need will we succeed in getting the States and local communities to make the best use of their own resources.

It is doubtful that the Thomas bill sufficiently limits Federal aid for this purpose. It provides that \$300 million of Federal funds be made available to the States on a sliding scale, adjusted to need, and on a matching basis.

This principle is sound. But why appropriate even \$5 per child from Federal funds to States which do not really need this help? If and when the House of Representatives considers its companion measure, it should cut the total appropriation—both in the interests of economy and of principle.

Catholics are critical of Federal aid because of the very great injustice it inflicts on them. Although Catholics pay their share of Federal taxes, their schools are excluded from the \$300 million the Senate has voted—unless individual States allow Catholic children the token of free bus transportation and free textbooks. Senator Taft's answer to such criticism is: "Fight it out in the States." Our answer is: "When you are appropriating Federal revenues, we'll fight it out in Congress."

The cards are stacked against us even there. The Supreme Court, in its Everson decision of February, 1947 and the McCollum decision of March, 1948, by arbitrary interpretation tightened up the Federal Constitution against us more than State constitutions are tightened up against us by explicit provisions. This judicial tyranny, of which Catholics are the chief victims, unquestionably plays into the hands of all groups opposing Federal aid to non-governmental schools.

Catholics are the last to resist even unjust laws, so long as anything but the most precious values of human life are at stake. Since such values are here at stake, we would like to remind Congress of a passage in President Lincoln's First Inaugural Address of March 4, 1861. After referring to the Dred Scott decision and counseling "high respect and consideration" for the judgment of the Federal Judiciary, he added:

At the same time, the candid citizen must confess that if the policy of the Government upon vital questions, affecting the whole people, is to be irretrievably fixed by decisions of the Supreme Court, the instant they are made, in ordinary litigation between parties, in personal actions, the people will have ceased to be their own rulers, having to that extent practically resigned their government into the hands of that eminent tribunal.

Let the House, then, speak its mind with courage and independence. For it, too, has a right to interpret the Constitution, and a duty to treat 22 million Americans justly.

Fight for UE

In the early fall of 1941 the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America, third largest affiliate of the CIO, held its annual convention in Atlantic City. It was not a happy convention. After five years of spectacular growth an issue had cropped up which, theoretically at least, should never be an issue in the trade-union movement. The issue was democracy versus totalitarianism. It threatened to split the organization right down the middle.

The trouble really started two years earlier when Soviet Foreign Minister Molotov signed a treaty of friendship with Nazi Germany. Mr. Molotov took the occasion to explain that ideology was purely a matter of taste and that only fools went to war over it. This cynical statement shocked democratic trade unionists the world over.

It shocked James B. Carey, UE's militant young president. It shocked him so much that he urged the convention to take a clear stand on the fundamental issue it raised. He supported a resolution condemning all forms of totalitarianism, communistic totalitarianism as well as fascistic.

Visitors came to see him in his hotel room. They patiently explained to him that the resolution could not pass; that he ought to cease supporting it; that, in the event he persisted in his misguided way, not only would the resolution be smashed, but he, Mr. Carey, would not be re-elected president of UE.

The visitors knew whereof they spoke. The resolution condemning communism as well as fascism was beaten. So was Mr. Carey. From that day until the present the CIO's third largest affiliate has been dominated by the Communist Party.

Is the day of liberation finally dawning?

That is the question observers were asking last week as almost 300 members of UE concluded a two-day conference at Dayton, Ohio. They had assembled from almost every part of the United States, and they had assembled for one purpose: to break the Stalinist grip on their powerful union. For the past four years most of them had been fighting the battle in their local unions, fighting against great odds, fighting without the strength which unity and organization alone can give. The Dayton meeting was called to provide that unity and organization. It did.

With unanimous approval the delegates picked a slate of candidates and adopted a platform. To run against fellow-traveling President Albert Fitzgerald they selected Frederick M. Kelly, business agent of the big General Electric local at Lynn, Massachusetts. They nominated Michael Fitzpatrick, president of the Westinghouse Conference Board in Pittsburgh, to oppose Secretary Jules (Comrade Juniper) Emppak. Their choice for Director of Organization, key post now held by pro-communist James Matles, was John E. Dillon, president of Local 425 in Long Island City. In their platform the delegates promised to support CIO policy, approved the North Atlantic Pact, condemned the World Federation of Trade Unions. In other resolutions they vowed to organize the unorganized and to continue the struggle to raise the living standards of the membership.

The delegates chose a good slate and wrote a good platform. But they cannot stop there. The present leadership of UE commands enormous resources. It is shrewd and well informed. It will not be easily displaced. To win the fight at the next convention, scheduled for Cleveland in the fall, the Dayton conferees have a hard summer's work ahead of them. They cannot complete it, no matter how hard they work, unless the rank and file turn out in large numbers for the crucial local meetings which will elect convention delegates. In the course of the conference James B. Carey flatly predicted that the pro-communist administration would be licked at Cleveland. It's up to the average dues-payer, who too often in the past has stayed at home, to make that prediction come true.

"Voice" blockade goes on

Jamming a radio program is like interrupting a speech by hooting and cat-calls. A radio transmitter, broadcasting on the same frequency as the station to be jammed, broadcasts, at equal or greater intensity, a constant shrill noise which drowns out or makes unintelligible the program to be interfered with.

Since early in 1948, stations within the Soviet Union have been interfering with the Voice of America programs. Protests direct to Russia and to the International Telecommunications Union at Geneva (of which Russia is a member) have got nowhere. By April 24—the day before the announcement by Russia of the Berlin blockade talks—no less than sixty Russian stations were engaged in this other type of blockade.

The Voice of America and the British Broadcasting Corporation accordingly decided to combine their forces and break through the jamming. Programs beamed to Russia were extended from two hours a day to twenty-four, and the power of the transmitters was stepped up. The Soviets retaliated by marshaling 150 stations to step-up the jamming. They were so anxious to prevent news of the free world from getting in that they even cancelled the usual daily program in English from Moscow. Even so, it is estimated that a steady twelve per cent of the Voice-BBC broadcasts get through to the Russian people regularly, and as high as thirty-five per cent when Soviet jamming is foiled by Western frequency changes.

Why this frantic effort to keep out news from the West? The average Russian by this time surely knows about the lifting of the Berlin blockade and the signing of the Atlantic Pact. It is vital in Stalin's mind, however, that the average Russian know the news only and exclusively in its communist version.

This is a tactic that could be adopted only by a police state. It is the same tactic that was employed by the Nazis in jamming short-wave broadcasts, during the war.

But more than that, it is a tactic inspired by fear. As the Voice program says: "Obviously somebody considers it dangerous to permit the Soviet people to listen to truthful information from a free radio." Yet a considerable number of Russians must be listening. The secret police could easily smash up a few radio sets and liquidate the listeners. But what if they number millions?

It is admittedly a long way from even millions of Russians hearing the news from the free world to the liberation of the Russian people. It begins to look, however, as if this propaganda is paying off. When the daring ingenuity of the airlift proved that we would not submit to the Berlin blockade, the prestige of the West was enhanced mainly in the eyes of the Germans. If we prove that we are not going to submit to this newer blockade of the air-waves, our prestige will grow in Russian eyes.

Programs to break through the jamming must be sustained and even expanded. Their result will be that when the regime of tyranny in Soviet Russia collapses (and it will in God's time), there will be millions who will not have to be taught from scratch the meaning of the words "truth" and "freedom."

A hint to the High Commissioner

Excitement over the lifting of the Berlin blockade and the conference of Foreign Ministers has distracted attention from another important development in Germany. The retirement of Gen. Lucius D. Clay on May 15 as military governor was to have signaled the switch-over from military to civilian administration. The High Commissioner to replace the occupation commander has not yet been named, however. Disagreement has developed in Washington over his relation to the Economic Cooperation Administrator. Some high officials hold that the latter should rank above the High Commissioner.

That anyone should even entertain the idea of making the Economic Administrator top man in the U. S. zone seems to substantiate the charge made by many Germans that our culture is crassly materialistic. A High Commissioner who has the broadest possible appreciation of the religious, educational and cultural, as well as the economic needs of the German people, should be appointed, and given top authority. He should have the vision to see the long-term moral and political reconstruction which Germany needs, and the patience to stay with it as long as proves necessary.

Somewhat dismaying was President Truman's hint that he feels the job is almost finished: "The work of moral and economic reconstruction among the Germans in the Western zone has proceeded to a point where they are about to obtain a greatly enlarged measure of political and economic responsibility." We question whether even the most democratic-minded Germans would claim that their countrymen generally are already whole-heartedly converted to democracy. They do have, on paper, an advanced form of democratic government. But are they, after twelve years of nazi indoctrination, really ready to accept the democratic ideal? Are they, above all, prepared to carry it out in practice? Isn't much more education in democracy needed before the Germans can be expected to live up to their new constitution?

A magnificent start in democratic education has been made by the Educational and Cultural Division of the Military Government under Alonzo G. Grace, former Education Commissioner of Connecticut. Working with democratic elements among the German educators, and assisted by some 150 American educators, Dr. Grace has begun to turn the German school system toward democracy. But, as Benjamin Fine reported from Bad Nauheim in the *N. Y. Times* for May 8: "Much more time will be needed before the influence of past years—and it must be remembered that German education was not free or democratic even before the days of Hitler—can be completely uprooted."

We hope the High Commissioner, whoever he may be, will appreciate the vital importance of continuing Dr. Grace's program uncurtailed until democracy is firmly entrenched in the German school system. If that program is allowed to fail, even the best constitution in the world will be of little avail.

A farm program for the whole people

Charles F. Brannan

In the first hours after I proposed to the Congress certain changes in the nation's farm price support program, the newspapers carried the story under headlines such as these:

"Full Food Supply, Fair Farm Income Given as U. S. Plan."

"To Avert 'Farm-Led, Farm-Fed Depression.'"

"New Farm Program Aims at Reducing Food Prices."

The headline writers were on the target. They caught the meaning and spirit of the proposed program better than many of the articles that appeared later.

One column came out under the heading: "How Long Till Nationalization?" In other articles, such emotionally charged words as "regimentation," "revolutionary," "wild scheme" and "socialism" were emphasized.

The simple fact is that nothing in the proposals is actually new, much less bold, startling or revolutionary. The various principles underlying my proposed program have been endorsed by one Congress after another for some sixteen years. Every proposal is authorized in principle by legislation already existing.

The desirability of farm price supports as being in the public interest is no longer a practical question for debate. When the Republican-dominated 80th Congress last year set up a long-range price support program, under the Aiken bill, to take effect in 1950, it became evident that some kind of floor under farm prices was here to stay, no matter which political party was dominant.

The reasons are fairly obvious. Agriculture is our basic industry, providing for our most fundamental needs. Food is still the most essential of all commodities; more essential than steel or coal or oil. Moreover, agriculture is vital to our industrial set-up. Before the war, those industries which relied most heavily upon American farms for their raw materials produced almost one-third of all our manufactured goods. Even many other industries not included in the one-third mentioned would find it extremely difficult to operate without farm materials. The automobile industry, for example, uses large quantities of cotton, wood, leather and other products that originate on the nation's farms.

People are sometimes surprised to learn how much agricultural products contribute to current American business. In 1947, for example, American consumers spent about \$165 billion for commodities and services. Of this amount, about half—\$81 billion—consisted of products that originated on farms.

Finally, the fact that our farm population in 1947, and again in 1948, had approximately \$31 billion of cash income to spend has been a factor of sizable proportion in the maintenance of national prosperity.

AMERICA presents this analysis of the Administration's farm program, by the Secretary of Agriculture, to clarify for its readers the aims and provisions of our national agricultural policy. Opinions on the program by leading agriculturists—invited to offer comments for the purpose of presenting a rounded discussion—follow the article.

Clearly, then, agricultural abundance and a reasonable level of farm income are essential to the nation. We cannot be sure of abundance and of reasonable farm income, however, without a realistic program of farm price protection. Again and again, the experience of the past has demonstrated that proposition. Without price supports, the farmer has almost no control over the prices of his products. He is at the mercy of the market. A bumper crop is likely to bring in less income than a normal, or perhaps even a short, crop. A succession of bumper crops means unsold surpluses, dwindling prices, abuse of the land, and farm bankruptcies. Sometimes it has meant the beginning of national depression.

What I am saying, in other words, is that a realistic price support program for agricultural commodities is not class legislation, but legislation for the whole people.

I believe very firmly that an adequate, efficient and fair program to support farm income and protect farm prices serves the whole people in at least six distinct ways.

By stabilizing purchasing power, it helps prevent depression.

It helps build firmer markets for industrial products and it increases opportunities for steady employment.

It encourages abundant production by agriculture.

It helps conserve our land resources by encouraging farmers to shift from soil-depleting crops to more grassland and livestock agriculture.

It helps maintain such reserves of grain and other commodities as might be needed for national security, as well as for world trade.

It strengthens the rural community, which is the well-spring of the nation's population resources.

All of these things concern not only farmers, but all Americans.

What I have tried to do in my recommendations to Congress is to suggest a realistic minimum floor for national farm income—a floor which it is in the public interest to maintain. To make this floor realistic, it seemed logical to relate it to the present, rather than to place it at 60 or 75 or 90 per cent of parity relationship existing thirty-nine years ago—before many of today's farmers were born.

For the immediate future, therefore, instead of a parity based on 1910-14 conditions, we proposed as a reasonable floor for farm income that amount of purchasing power which farmers had on the average for the period 1939 through 1948. In this period, farm income ran the full cycle from depression to prosperity. In 1939, a depression year for agriculture, cash farm income totaled less than \$8 billion. Last year, cash income exceeded \$31 billion. In between these extremes were the years of rising income

during the war, the period of controlled prices, and finally the postwar boom. The average for the entire decade represents less buying power than farmers have had in any year since 1942; but it is fairly close to estimated farm buying power for the current year.

In terms of dollars, it means a decline of about 15 per cent from last year's cash income.

On the basis of this income standard, the various price floors for individual commodities would be worked out. In other words, commodities would be supported at levels which would assure national farm purchasing power equal to the 1939-48 average.

There is nothing new or revolutionary in this. The principle that farm prices and farm income should bear a reasonable relationship to urban income and industrial prices has been explicit in the nation's farm program since 1933. As a moral issue, the necessity of maintaining a balanced relationship between industrial and agricultural prices was set down by Pope Pius XI eighteen years ago in his encyclical "Reconstructing the Social Order."

What many of the objectors protest, however, is that this minimum income standard is too high, that it guarantees farmers too much.

What are the facts? Last year, when agricultural cash income reached its all-time peak, total income of persons on farms was only \$909 per capita, compared with \$1,569 for non-farm persons. Remember, also, that the income floor which we propose is 15 per cent *below* last year's purchasing power, which would stabilize per capita income of persons on farms at about half of the income received by non-farm persons.

I have never contended that income equality demands *dollar* equality for farm and non-farm income. But I do not think that an income floor which assures farmers half the purchasing power of non-farm people is excessive.

Another major aim of the proposed program is the encouragement of more abundant production and consumption of important crops. The dietary needs of the nation call for more meat, milk and certain fruits and vegetables. Since 1947, for example, rising prices have been a factor in reducing milk consumption in our larger cities. The program which I have recommended might do much to lower the price of milk to the consumer, while preserving the farm producer's income.

This would be done through support of perishable commodities by production payments. Storable commodities—such as cotton, corn, wheat, tobacco and wool—would be given price protection by loans or government purchase. Such perishables as fruits, vegetables, meat animals, milk, poultry and eggs, which provide about 75 per cent of total cash farm income, would be protected through payments directly to farmers. For perishables, then, the Government would not go into the market and bid the price up. Instead, each farmer would sell his crop for the best price he could get. If, however, the price of a commodity fell below the "floor," farmers would be paid directly the difference between the support price and the *average* market price.

The great advantage of such a system to consumers is immediately evident in the present potato situation. New production methods, along with greater use of fertilizer and better insecticides in recent years, have so increased potato yields that support at 90 per cent of parity—or even considerably less than 90 per cent—appears to be sufficient to give farmers a profit and encourage too much potato production.

The cost of supporting prices on the 1948-crop potatoes will run to more than \$200 million. What 1949 potatoes will cost the Government nobody knows, and, in fact, some of the potatoes the Government will buy this year have not yet been planted. Most of the potatoes purchased to maintain the price for farmers are necessarily diverted from consumer's tables, but it is difficult to find other outlets that are adequate.

This, however, is only part of the cost. Because our purchases take potatoes off the market, consumers pay higher prices than would otherwise be the case. Thus the present price support program adds to prices in the marketplace and to costs of government.

The Department of Agriculture, on several occasions, called to the attention of the previous Congress the problem of potatoes.

Under the production payment method, potato prices would fall to their supply-and-demand level. One of the cost elements of the present program—the artificially high price—would thereby be eliminated.

Production payments have the extra advantage of efficiency. They place the added income directly in the grower's hands. They also foster farming efficiency by encouraging high quality production and good marketing practices. The efficient farmer or the better bargainer benefits from his higher price just as if there were no production payments.



Like the other features of the program, this method is by no means new or untried. It has been used successfully both during and before the war.

In the proposed program we assume that farmers will accept certain responsibilities along with the advantages of price and income protection. These include the use of effective soil conservation and land-use practices as well as cooperation in adjusting production and marketing to needs.

Here again we ask nothing new or untried. Since the middle 'thirties, farmers have cooperated in soil-saving practices. They have voted in referendums on the establishment of marketing quotas. They have accepted acreage allotments in the full knowledge that only if production can be brought into reasonable harmony with demand can price supports operate successfully in the long run.

One final feature of the proposed program remains to be mentioned. This is the provision whereby very large farms—factory farms, so-called—would be limited in the benefits received from price support operations. Approximately \$25,000 of cash sales would be the gross amount

of products eligible for price protection. This provision would affect less than one farm in fifty.

Again, ample precedent exists. For many years the amount of money payable to a farmer for carrying out conservation practices has been limited by congressional legislation.

This program, I repeat, is more than just a farm program. It is a program for the whole people. Its aims are economic stability, abundance, and a fair break for the consumer.

It is being said that the cost of carrying out these proposals would be fantastic. I am convinced that the real cost to the nation would be less than that of present price support operations. In any case, the Congress has

the final word. We can spend not a penny more than Congress authorizes and appropriates.

Others charge that my proposals would involve a greater degree of control and regimentation than has ever been known in this country. But if this plan means regimentation, then our farmers are already regimented, for I am asking for no new type of authority over agriculture.

In closing, I should like to say to the readers of AMERICA what I have said to the Congress and the press: I am not seeking to "sell" this program to the American people. I do seek to explain it, so that the people may judge for themselves whether or not these proposals are in their interest. I am convinced that this or any other farm program will stand only if it serves *all* Americans.

What leading agriculturists say

EDITOR: In 1933 the Congress resorted to rough-and-ready methods to pull farmers out of the trough. Some effects of the methods used were good, others were bad. Secretary Brannan has tried to sift the methods yielding good results from those yielding bad; the former he has tried to combine to frame his program. So far as political realities permitted, he has sought formulas to reconcile the divergent interests of producers, consumers and taxpayers. No formula can satisfy them all, but this one has the considerable merit that it recognizes conflicting interests frankly and makes a serious attempt to arrive at an acceptable adjustment between them. The principle of 1933—that the Government ought to help a distressed agriculture—is accepted. But a sound agriculture balanced with high production is sought, not financially solvent agriculturists protected by sharp curtailment of production.

The provision limiting government price protection to products from any one farm to a value of \$25,000 in cash sale is of unusual significance. Probably large-scale operators will oppose it. However, it rests on one of the soundest of American traditions—that the benefits of public aid ought to be spread widely, not concentrated in the hands of a few. This principle has been accepted as national land and water policy for about a century and a half, and there seems to be no good reason why it should not also govern private receipt of public assistance given to agriculturists in the form of price supports.

It might be argued that the Secretary's program sets the limitation at too high a figure. The bureaus of the census and of agricultural economics in the past have set \$30,000 annual value of production as the lower limit of the "large-scale farm," not as the upper limit of the family-size farm.

With both major political parties committed to support of the family farm, it will be difficult to argue consistently against the principle of the limitation contained in the Secretary's program. But consistency does not necessarily govern the debates of Congress. Friends of the family-size farm and believers in widespread distribution rather

than monopolization of public benefits will probably feel that the issue needs to be watched closely, remembering only too plainly the long series of attempts to break down the sound and historic 160-acre water limitation in the reclamation law.

PAUL S. TAYLOR

Berkeley, Calif.

University of California

(Since Mr. James G. Patton, President of the National Farmers Union, was out of town when our invitation to comment reached his headquarters, the Union's office has authorized us to publish the following statement, which appeared in the Farmers Union Herald, as an expression of his views.—EDITOR.)

The proposal of the Secretary of Agriculture for a new farm program marks a milestone in the struggle to maintain and preserve the family-type farm, and the effort to tie together the interests of producers and consumers. Especially significant is Mr. Brannan's suggestion that a differential be established in type of farms benefiting from price support.

This is the first time that a Secretary of Agriculture in a general farm program has suggested that special consideration be given to family-type farmers as distinguished from large commercial farmers.

Although the proposal does not go as far as we had hoped, it is an excellent beginning and a long step in the right direction.

The Secretary's other proposals regarding a lowering of prices to consumers and incentive payments for increased production of needed commodities are also timely and significant.

The program he has suggested will be popular both with consumers and farmers, for it recognizes that the welfare of each is linked with that of the other.

We in the Farmers Union especially commend his recommendation that production payments be made for meat, milk and other commodities in short supply. We like this part of his proposal: for the first time in any general farm program, the profiteers, the middlemen and

speculators are not to receive any favored treatment, with the result that the farmers and consumers, as is proper, receive the greatest benefits.

Finally, we favor the recommendations as a whole because the goals suggested therein all point to an economy of abundance.

Denver, Colorado

JAMES G. PATTON, *President
National Farmers Union*

EDITOR: No one who is really interested in the well-being of our nation's agriculture can possibly disagree with the declared aims in Secretary Brannan's new farm plan. There are, however, many who do not believe that the measures suggested will accomplish these worthy aims.

I do not refer to those who were the first to hit the headlines with cries of "regimentation" and "socialized agriculture." In the main, they are the ones who are fearful lest government regimentation of farmers under the Brannan plan will supplant the regimentation which they themselves have been so selfishly and successfully exercising over farmers for several decades. I am referring more to the grass-roots sentiment in the Northeast with which I am most familiar. The great majority of farmers in the Northeast have always been opposed to price supports and subsidies, not only because they violate the fundamental principle that a man's success (moral as well as financial) is measured by his own brow sweat, rather than by government handouts; but also because in practice they have never been known to solve any farm-price problem.

It is the same with us. Our continually recurring farm-price problem will never be solved by price supports, whether fixed on the present parity base or on the Brannan-suggested income base. Supports do, of course, have a popular appeal, but actually they are short-sighted, stop-gap measures that grow by what they feed on. The current British experiment in food subsidies is the most concrete evidence now at hand.

Those who have given serious study to this question of farm prices know that the real weakness in our agricultural economy is the ever-widening spread between what the producer receives for his produce and what the consumer pays. Oranges that retail for \$6.84 a crate in New York City, for example, bring a return of but \$1.76 to the California growers—25.7 per cent of the consumer's dollar. The housewife pays 22½ cents for a quart of approved milk at the doorstep, while the dairyman who produced that same milk, at an average distance of but 200 miles from point of consumption, receives only 10½ cents per fluid quart, and under 8 cents per quart for all his milk, used both in fluid form and for manufacturing purposes.

Some claim that this price-spread evil can never be corrected in a capitalistic economy and that therefore we must live with it but in some way try to sugarcoat it or close our eyes to it. Others, who do not share such pessimism, believe that our system can be overhauled and made to work efficiently. It is their thought, and I agree with them, that if and when we can have a full-dress inquiry into our present system of food distribu-

tion we will then be in a position to know definitely whether our economy can survive its many violent fluctuations and, if so, exactly what is needed for its survival.

As we are drifting now, we know nothing except that the problem is becoming more and more complex, the tax burdens greater and greater, and the ultimate solution, if any, just as far away. We know, too, that no attempt is being made to correct the very distribution processes which are so badly in need of overhauling; that, in fact, political palliatives, like the Brannan plan, seem to breed even greater evils.

Farmers do not relish the idea of being wards of the state—at a price measured not in money but in liberty and freedom. They know there are ups and downs in every business and are willing to assume them in their own farm business, if at the same time they could have some assurance that they would not be the only ones left holding the bag. A streamlining of our food-distribution system may be the answer. The Brannan plan, and others like it, will never be.

WILLIAM F. BERGOLD, *Editor
New York, N. Y.*

The Rural New Yorker

EDITOR: My first impulsive reaction to any farm plan or other social-welfare or economic-stability scheme is: "It's no fun to stay sober at a party when everybody's drunk." Industrialism, internationalism, urbanism, capitalistic or collectivistic society have so complicated our individual lives and social relationships that one adjustment calls for another *ad infinitum*.

There is nothing new or startling in Mr. Brannan's proposal. It's only an honest effort at making possible a just return to farmers and a fair price to the consumers. The talk of regimentation and bankruptcy is not the result of logical, consistent thinking. Neither farmers nor consumers can have their cake and eat it. Farmers should not be treated as a privileged class, but neither should they be excluded from the gravy train. The floor price for farmers is the farmers' minimum wage.

It is also to be regretted that the farm workers are forever treated as an inferior class of citizens to whom social security, minimum wages and other just benefits never apply. Why don't the Farm Bureau and the Grange and the political commentators scream about that type of "class left out" legislation?

The exclusion of the large-scale producers from certain benefit payments is thoroughly sound. It's a graduated income tax in reverse. We must have equality, but that does not mean identity. We must favor the family-type farm.

In conclusion, I may say that if we eat rich food and drink sweet wine, we've got to expect the gout.

(R.T. REV. MSGR.) L. G. LICUTTI,
*Executive Secretary,
National Catholic Rural Life Conference*

Des Moines, Iowa

(Further comments by agricultural leaders, if received, will be published in our Correspondence columns in a later issue.)

Cahokia's 250th birthday

Joseph P. Donnelly

On May 22, 1949, the little village of Cahokia, Illinois, opposite St. Louis, celebrates two hundred and fifty years of continuous existence. The fact comes as something of a shock to Americans in general, since they are accustomed to think most of our more ancient towns are on the Atlantic seaboard. Cahokia is the same age as Williamsburg, Virginia; it is seventeen years younger than Philadelphia and nineteen years older than New Orleans. Cahokia Parish also possesses one of the most precious relics of the American West—a one-hundred-and-fifty-year-old church which is now being carefully and accurately restored. What is most important, however, is that Cahokia encompasses in its life-span almost the whole of our colonial and federal history. It is a microcosm of the political, social and religious life of our country.

Cahokia owes its existence and the first sixty years of its history to the "Priests of the Foreign Missions of Quebec," a group of diocesan clergy who lived in community and whose object was to evangelize the natives of New France. The methods adopted were those initiated by the "Priests of the Foreign Missions of Paris," a pattern which Bishop Laval, the first Bishop of Canada, prescribed for them when he established the community soon after his arrival in Canada. Just short of a quarter-century after their foundation, the Canadian "Seminary Priests" were able to branch out into their first important mission effort—the establishment of a central house at a suitable location on the Mississippi from which they could evangelize the Indians of the lower Mississippi Valley. On the advice of Henri Tonti, who had spent eighteen years in the country since his first introduction to the section under La Salle's command, the priests chose to establish their mission among the Tamara-Cahokia branch of the Illinois Nation, whose village was situated opposite the present St. Louis. On May 22, 1699 the little center was solemnly opened with the erection of a great cross before a log chapel, beside which was built a rude cabin as a residence for the missionaries.

The transition from a mission outpost to a French-Canadian village came about with surprising rapidity. By 1722 the French Crown had organized the Mississippi Valley into government districts in charge of commandants, and had extended to the area the "*coutumes de Paris*" (laws which obtained in the Ile de France). Soon fur-traders from Canada began to settle permanently, acquiring land in fee simple from the tract which had been granted the missionaries for the support of their apostolic labors. The Indians, in the meantime, were encouraged by the missionaries to move to a separate village where their white neighbors would be less of a bad example.

By 1735 Cahokia was a typical French village, with

the homes of the inhabitants clustered about the church square. The town could boast of a civil court, a syndic or notary public, and officials elected by the people. By 1740, the parish of the Holy Family in the village was so clearly a parish for the French that the usual parochial offices filled by the laity—church-wardens, etc.—already existed. In matters concerning the state, such as military campaigns, government officials drafted quotas from the village during the conflict between France and England for possession of the Mississippi Valley.

The Peace of Paris (1763) introduced a critical period for the citizens of Cahokia. The British, to whom the village fell as a prize of war, were found to be harsh overlords, given to political corruption, hostile to Catholicism and disdainful of cherished French legal and social customs. A greater disaster was the fact that just previous to the arrival of British officials all but one active priest in the upper Mississippi Valley, Father Meurin, S.J., either had been recalled by a French edict of expulsion or had voluntarily left as an act of protest against the edict. Many of the villagers packed up and crossed to the western shore of the Mississippi, where the new settlement of St. Louis was begun in 1764.

It is not surprising that those who remained in Cahokia welcomed Captain Joseph Bowman when he arrived with his small contingent of George Rogers Clark's Revolutionary forces and called upon the townsfolk to surrender their village to the Continental Congress, on July 6, 1778. The decision to join the Revolutionary cause was probably greatly influenced by the advice and example of Father Pierre Gibault, then at Kaskaskia, who may have encouraged some of the Kaskaskians to assist Bowman in the conquest of Cahokia. Readily embracing the American cause, the Cahokians held a town meeting and elected civil officials with authority to carry on governmental affairs under American rule. How well Captain Bowman was received is evident from the fact that he was promptly elected to fill a civil office. The people of Cahokia further aided the American cause by assisting in the erection of a fort and lending money to its commandant to support a garrison.

As soon as the village came under American jurisdiction, the staunch Catholics of Cahokia set about the restoration of their disturbed religious life. They petitioned the Bishop of Quebec for a pastor, offering to repair the old mission buildings, which had been partly dismembered to construct Fort Bowman. The priests sent to Cahokia were to have their work cut out for them. Yankees from the East began to pour across the mountains, staking out land for themselves, invading the French settlements of the Mississippi Valley and setting up in business. The early meeting and intermingling of the two groups is evidenced in the Cahokia parish records by such entries as the marriage of Thomas Brady to a French-Canadian widow or the burial of the infant son of Mary Ryan, whom the old burial record calls "Marie Rienne, Americaine."

During the first couple of decades after Cahokia came under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the American episcopal see of Baltimore, the history of the Catholic

Church in our country is clearly reflected in the history of Holy Family Parish at Cahokia. In 1792 Bishop Carroll obtained a number of French Sulpicians, exiled by the French Revolution, to care for the French in the Mississippi Valley. Those zealous priests, almost to a man, eventually became bishops of newly erected dioceses in America. Such examples come to mind as Benedict Joseph Flaget, first Bishop of Bardstown, and Gabriel Richard, who was selected for the diocese of Detroit, but refused on the ground that his age disqualified him.

During the summer of 1799 the people of Cahokia finished a new church for their parish. Built of massive walnut logs which had been fashioned from great trees growing on an island in the Mississippi, this hundred-and-fifty-year-old church—probably the oldest ecclesiastical structure in the Mississippi Valley—still stands as the external symbol of all that Cahokia represents. Through the generosity of the Bishop of Belleville, Illinois, in whose diocese the church stands, the building has been carefully restored in preparation for the celebration this year of Cahokia's anniversary. Our Federal Government considers the old church such a precious relic of our past that it is willing to classify the building as a national shrine, in the same category as Independence Hall in Philadelphia.

For the first thirty years of the nineteenth century, Cahokia seemed well on the way to becoming an important city. When the Northwest Territory was organized and county government became a fact, Cahokia was appointed one of three court districts. The place prospered, exporting surplus agricultural products and acting as a depot for fur traders and the merchants who served them. But such natural disasters as fire and frequent floods forced merchants to shift their operations to St. Louis, leaving the village its farmers and their simple parish life.

From about 1830 on, the story of Cahokia is almost exclusively the history of its parish. This was faithfully served, during the greater part of the nineteenth century, by the priests of the Congregation of the Missions, despite the frequent necessity of traveling from their seminary, nearly fifty miles away, to bring the consolations of religion to the people of Cahokia. One of their members, Father P. J. Doutreluingue, S.M. induced the Sisters of St. Joseph to open a school in the village in 1836. Though the nuns were obliged to abandon the institution within fifteen years after its inception, the "Abbey," as it was locally known, left its mark on the parish. Even today, ninety-eight years after the school closed its doors, the property on which it stood is called the Abbey property.

After the middle of the nineteenth century, Cahokia parish became the mother of the churches within a radius of fifty miles. As immigrants poured in to work on the railroads or to take up farms, the successive pastors opened mission stations which have grown into thriving parishes. Such little centers were begun in East St. Louis to care for the crowd of Catholics helping to build the railroad. The German and Swiss immigrants who settled around Belleville erected a chapel, where the pastor of

Cahokia served them. The people of Johnston's Settlement, chiefly second-generation Americans, built themselves a little chapel dedicated to St. Thomas when the pastor of Cahokia promised to say Mass for them. The staunch little group of fervent German Catholic immigrants at the present St. Libory, Illinois, first received the consolation of the sacraments through the generosity and zeal of the pastors of Holy Family in Cahokia.

There is a unique universality about the little village which is probably the most important feature of its long history. On the purely civil side, the place has been governed by the "*coutumes de Paris*," the Common Law of England, the Continental Congress, the laws of the Northwest Territory and the State of Illinois. It has been under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the dioceses of Quebec, Baltimore, Louisiana, St. Louis, Bardstown, Chicago, the former see of Alton and, finally, Belleville.

During its two and a half centuries of existence, priests of nearly all the religious orders have acted as pastors. The Jesuits cared for it from 1708 to 1712. Towards the end of our Revolution, Father Bernard de Limpach, a Capuchin and pastor of St. Louis, crossed the river to offer Mass and administer the sacraments to the people. A Carmelite, Father Paul de St. Pierre, former army chaplain for the French in Rochambault's army, was sent to Cahokia by Bishop Carroll in 1783. The Dominican, Father Jacobin le Dru, arrived in 1789. A Recollet, Father Charles Leander Lausson, came in 1797. The Trappists, who attempted to establish a monastery just north of Cahokia, took care of the religious needs of the village at the end of the first decade of the nineteenth century. We have already noted the efforts of the Sulpicians and the priests of the Congregation of the Missions. The national loyalties and characteristics of the people whom these priests baptized, married and buried, slowly changed from French to typical American.

From first to last, the diocesan priests assigned to the village have been outstanding. Father Donatien Olivier became the patriarch of western Illinois in the early nineteenth century. Father Lutz von Odenheim, pastor at Cahokia between 1827 and 1830, became a renowned missionary among the Indians of Minnesota. Father John Francis Regis Loisel was the first native St. Louisian to become a priest, and was also among the first students to be enrolled in St. Louis University. He probably died a martyr of charity to those of his flock who suffered disaster in a devastating flood in 1845.

Elaborate plans are being made to celebrate Cahokia's twenty-five decades. There will be a solemn pontifical field Mass; great dignitaries will grace the occasion with their presence; a pageant will depict the history of the village. Cahokia merits a worthy celebration to commemorate so many years of continuous existence. The old church richly deserves to be restored and to be preserved as a great national shrine. It is only fitting to remember, however, that what is really being commemorated is two hundred and fifty years of the patient efforts of Christianity to guide men to live together according to the model of the Holy Family, in whose honor the parish and the village were founded and continued.

Helping the convert to feel at home

Leonard B. Nienaber

For ten years it was only in Lexington, Kentucky, that the Guild of St. Paul created a mild sensation. However, when this club for converts began to flourish in other cities, both large and small, it became evident that the quick growth in Lexington was not the result of chance but that it filled a practical need. Today there are dozens of groups following the constitution of the Lexington mother-club, with regular monthly meetings and other educational and social programs.

The primary purpose of a Guild of St. Paul is to help new converts become acclimatized to the surroundings of their new religion. So many practices are strange to the person who has entered the Church. The priest's instructions cannot be comprehensive enough to include all details, especially in liturgical matters. Many other questions plague the convert's mind.

The full activity of our large parishes is too complex for the lonely convert to grasp. The newness, the lack of sociability, confession for the second and third time, Mass schedules, Holy Days—all of these, and a host of other items, tend to confuse the new Catholic. The priest's responsibility after baptism is lightened when he uses other converts and apostolic Catholics to meet and look after those he has baptized.

Any priest who doubts the need of some method for following up those whom he has instructed should reach for the baptismal record and consult the list of adults received into the Church. By looking back over a period of five or ten years he may well find that one out of every five or seven converts is not now a practising Catholic. The booklet, "A Club for Converts," recently published by the Lexington Guild of St. Paul, cites an actual experience of a 16-per-cent defection from 1934 to 1944.

To instruct and baptize converts and then maintain no further contact with them is to let the work go unfinished. Even though they have been taking instruction for months and going to Sunday Mass, it is different now that the converts are on their own. Some conquer the obstacles; others lapse into a state worse than their former one. By means of a monthly gathering the convert's interest in things Catholic can be stimulated and his knowledge of Catholic teaching increased. The programs can be educational as well as entertaining, and thus continue to build up Christ in those souls.

The opportunity for the convert to meet new friends through an organization like the Guild is an advantage not to be overlooked. Too often it happens that reception into the Catholic Church means the loss of former friends, and even of one's own family, without the chance of creating a new circle. The crowd at the Masses on Sunday seems so unfriendly and no one ever bids a welcome to the stranger. The resulting loneliness tests the convert's

In emulation of the watchful love lavished by Christ on His flock, Catholics of the Guild of St. Paul, as Members of His Mystical Body, offer love, friendship and guidance to newly received Catholics. To Father Leonard Nienaber belongs the distinction of originating this apostolate, which has proved fruitful in many parts of the country.

faith to the snapping point. "Oh, for a friend or someone with whom I can discuss the joy that I seem to have found," is the plea of many. So, for the intellectual, spiritual and social benefit of the convert, some kind of organization is needed.

CHAIN REACTION

Although the first and primary purpose of the Guild is to keep in touch with each newly baptized Catholic, from its work also follows a great spread of the faith. The zeal of converts cannot be suppressed; they are enthusiastic about leading others into the Church. John Moody was not content with reserving one seat in his parish church; he was confident that he would need a pew for a dozen; he was sure of so many persons whom he would bring into the Church. Again, having themselves experienced the value of prayer in leading to faith, converts realize the need of the supernatural approach to the convert problem. They will beg and plead before the throne of God for particular souls whom they wish to interest in the faith. We might quote a sentence from Father McGinn in *Winning Converts*, edited by the Rev. J. A. O'Brien: "The wise convert-maker will spare himself many unnecessary disappointments if he enlists a crusade of prayer that will precede, accompany and fructify his own efforts."

The first step for an inquiry class is to enlist the prayers of individuals as well as of whole congregations, especially the prayers of children. A guild of converts might well have as one of its projects to pray as a unit. The members will not only offer an occasional prayer but will include their intention in all daily works, as well as in extra fasts, Holy Hours and weekday Masses. With this foundation of prayer, any inquiry class is bound to succeed; and the fact that you have a group of converts who are interested will assure a sufficient number of prospects.

Every convert will know of one or two relatives or friends who can be brought to such a class. This will lead to the "chain" of converts, one leading another into the church, for which Archbishop Schulte pleaded during the meeting of the Catholic Evidence Guild at Indianapolis last June. Such has been the practical experience in Lexington. Over the past twelve years, there have been many such "chains." One has now extended to the eleventh convert traceable to a single person in the beginning. Several other chains have advanced to the sixth or seventh link. A recent news item tells of Bishop E. V. O'Hara's confirming twenty-one members of a family in Branson, Missouri. The initial contact was a son of the family, a former Baptist minister, through whom his parents and most of their children and grandchildren have been brought into the Church.

Converts will be active, too, in spreading the faith by distributing literature and through private talks. The Convert Makers of America's pamphlet racks can be set up in hotels and depots, and one member will take pride in servicing a rack so that it is never empty. Personal distribution of appropriate booklets on the faith is a work of joy for new converts.

It is not only the convert who will be stimulated by these efforts. The work we do for them will revitalize all other parish societies. The converts will not only become members; they will be active in these various parish groups and thus spur on the long-time members.

ORGANIZATION

In order to organize a Guild of St. Paul, the priest should call together long-time converts as well as recent converts and cradle-Catholics to serve as a nucleus for an organization. The nucleus will grow as the newly baptized enter the Church and become members of the Guild. Officers may be elected and parliamentary law followed. The Spiritual Director must strive for a friendly and informal atmosphere during meetings.

In Lexington the development was gradual enough. To begin with, an effort was made to keep in touch with the converts by calling them into the parlor a few times a year for a friendly chat, as Monsignor Sheen invited Henry Ford II "to drop in for a thousand-mile check-up." With the assistance of other priests in the work, the idea developed into the formation of a permanent group with regular meetings and planned programs. The first formal meeting was held in 1937 under the name of the Catholic Convert Club of Lexington. Later, after a few years, the term "convert" was voted out by the members because it tended to set the neophytes aside as a distinct brand of Catholic. News releases about activities of the Convert Club brought reactions from other churches in town.

The services contributed by members are along these lines. Some representatives of the Guild are present at the new convert's baptism, in addition to the godparents. One member serves as a "guardian angel" and makes sure that the neophyte has a companion for his first Holy Communion and that he is introduced at the next meeting of the Guild. The new Catholic thus gets a sense of belonging to something; he is at home among fellow converts.

Later the convert's "guardian angel" telephones his protégé from time to time, sees that he goes to confession and Holy Communion, introduces him to the Holy Name Society, the Sodality and the appropriate parish societies. If the convert has no Catholic friends, he welcomes this big brother or sister of the Guild, and his path is rendered smooth instead of hazardous.

The time of experiment is long past in the Lexington follow-up program. The success of the Guild of St. Paul in more than forty parishes proves that it is built on a firm basis and that the organization fills a present-day need. So fruitful is the work that hundreds of priests have written for a copy of the constitution—which is still available, together with a 48-page booklet entitled "A Club for Converts." (Write the Rev. Leonard B. Nienaber, Guild of St. Paul, Lexington 13, Ky.) At the suggestion of the

Most Rev. William T. Mulloy, Bishop of Covington, the experiences of the Lexington Guild have been collected and published.

We might dwell a moment on the notable success of the Convert Guild at the Gesù church in Milwaukee. In the number of conversions the Jesuit Fathers there have surpassed the mother club in Lexington. The four yearly inquiry classes, of 12 weeks each, have had an average attendance in excess of 100, and have resulted in large groups for public baptism. Each one of these classes is immediately initiated into the Guild at a Communion breakfast. Each neo-Catholic, at that time, receives a certificate of baptism and a picture of the group that has just been received into the Church. A monthly bulletin is mailed to each, so that the "alumni" keep informed about the activities of the club and the Inquiry Forum. These graduates keep subsequent classes filled, and want to hear of developments when they are not attending.

The monthly programs in Milwaukee are similar to



those of the Guild of St. Paul at Lexington and all other Guilds: guest speakers, papers read by the members, question-and-answer discussions and appropriate movies. The Convert Guild at Milwaukee has also introduced a new idea in a bus tour of city churches and a bus trip to a shrine. The Lexington group could not

do the first mentioned; but last summer it did travel a hundred miles to a shrine of St. Anne.

There are several other parallel activities in Lexington and Milwaukee: a select library for converts, group Nuptial Mass with nuptial blessing for those who were united in a mixed marriage, and solemn Holy Hour at Pentecost for conversions.

In January of this year, on the occasion of Lexington's twelfth annual banquet, which now attracts about 400 converts and members of their families, there were sixty-two delegates from nine Guilds of St. Paul covering three States. This was the second regional meeting. A full day of activities is planned for next year's gathering, which will be highlighted by the club's annual banquet to be held at the approximate date of the festival of the Conversion of St. Paul.

The writer of this article, who has been the Spiritual Director of the Lexington group since its beginning, has personally visited most of the Guilds in the States of Kentucky, Ohio and Tennessee. The groups are typical of the Lexington group in every instance. They may vary in size, but their alertness and zeal are the same.

All are ready and anxious to do something about sharing their newly found treasure with those not of the faith. Their enthusiasm is contagious. They inspire one another to go out and win souls for Christ. It gladdens the heart of the priest to see such willing workers helping him to fulfill the command of Christ—to go out into the highways and "compel" them to come in.

Report on "America's Associates"

Edward A. Conway, S.J.



PHENOMENAL is the word for the growth of the ASSOCIATES in the month since our Anniversary Issue carried the invitation by the distinguished *Committee for America*. Here are some figures:

CHARTER ASSOCIATES number 12. (Thomas E. Saxe of New Canaan, Conn. ratified the Charter to the tune of \$1,500.)

Sustaining Associates total 32.
Cooperating Associates add up to 127
States represented number 28
Cities and towns in which Associates

live come to 80, an impressive proof of the extent of AMERICA's circulation.

Speaking of cities, in a number of them ASSOCIATES are beginning to organize at least to the extent of working together to "Make AMERICA Known."

SYRACUSE, N. Y., off to a head start as our pilot project, is still far in the lead. The extent of its activity may be gauged by the returns to date: 24 ASSOCIATES have enlisted, with the bulk yet to be reported at a luncheon a week from this writing. The Syracusans, with Mrs. Helen Kelley Anglin as sub-committee chairman, have planned a public meeting for early June which Fathers Hartnett, Masse and Conway will address.

DENVER friends of AMERICA met April 30 at the home of Mrs. John F. Vail, first person to become a CHARTER ASSOCIATE, to hear this writer explain the ASSOCIATES project. First fruits seemed to appear the next morning, when SUSTAINING ASSOCIATE Mrs. William D. Phoenix discovered that all AMERICA's in Father Campbell's Blessed Sacrament parish had been sold by 8 o'clock. By noon the order had been raised from one to three dozen.

CHICAGO'S CHARTER ASSOCIATE James E. Keenan opened his campaign by ordering subscriptions for the Mayor and the City Corporation Counsel. He is confident that he can get two or three hundred new subscribers in the Chicago area. Here let me observe that a number of realistic businessmen like Mr. Keenan, lawyers like Jo-

CHARTER ASSOCIATES

Monsted, Mrs. Clare N., New Orleans, La.
Murray, Thomas E., New York, N. Y.

SUSTAINING ASSOCIATES

Anglin, Mrs. Helen Kelley, Syracuse, N. Y.
Burroughs, Franklin L., Seneca Falls, N. Y.
Carr, Donald V., Syracuse, N. Y.
Conway, Laurence J., Milwaukee, Wis.
Eagan, Eleanor, Syracuse, N. Y.
Fenerty, Judge Clare, Philadelphia, Pa.
Heintz, Peter, Memphis, Tenn.
Jennings, Mrs. E. E., Montclair, N. J.
Plunkett, Robert E., Detroit, Mich.
Roedel, J. K., Edwardsville, Ill.
Saul, Agnes A., Washington, D. C.

Terry, Frank, Syracuse, N. Y.
Twohy, James F., Santa Monica, Cal.

COOPERATING ASSOCIATES

Barrett, John F., Syracuse, N. Y.
Burkart, R. P., Los Alamos, N. M.
Burns, Mr. and Mrs. John P., Syracuse
Byrne, Joseph E., St. Paul, Minn.
Clancey, James P., Ishpeming, Mich.
Curran, William, Baltimore, Md.
Dineen, William, Syracuse, N. Y.
Dooley, W. T., St. Louis, Mo.
Finlay, Edward A., Paris, France
Graham, Thomas J., Woodhaven, L. I., N. Y.
Henley, Mrs. Gerald H., Syracuse, N. Y.
Hughes, Richard T., Syracuse, N. Y.

seph Little of Denver and Donald Carr of Syracuse have told us that the most practical, immediate job our ASSOCIATES could do for AMERICA would be to expand our subscription lists. (We suspect them of acting on their own suggestion: two hundred, count them, subscriptions came in yesterday, May 10).

NEW YORK ASSOCIATES number 63. The Editors are inviting them to an open house on June 3 in honor of our fortieth anniversary. There they may meet most of the publishers and many of the literary figures of New York.

BALTIMORE prospects to the number of 300 received copies of our Anniversary Issue mailed to them by Mrs. Elizabeth Coulter. We hope that our former Editor-in-Chief, Father F. X. Talbot, S.J., will help organize a strong group of ASSOCIATES in Baltimore, where he is now President of Loyola College.

MILWAUKEE will be the scene of an experiment in promotion on May 22 when the Pastor of Gesù Church, Father Richard Cahill, S.J., will distribute free to his parishioners 2,000 copies of the May 21 issue which he purchased from us. Which reminds me that, although we appealed only to the laity to become our ASSOCIATES, a sizable number of bishops and priests have enlisted. We did not return their checks. In fact, we would welcome their further cooperation in the way pioneered by Father Cahill.

INSIDE AMERICA, the confidential bulletin we have promised our ASSOCIATES, containing background material we use but cannot publish, and news about AMERICA's ASSOCIATES, will make its first appearance about June 1.

First CORPORATE ASSOCIATE was Campion Hall, the Jesuit retreat house at North Andover, Mass., entered by our former Associate Editor, Father William Donagh, S.J. We hope that many colleges, clubs, sodalities, retreat houses, K. C. councils and other groups will follow suit.

Below is the list of Associates who enlisted during the past week:

Kelley, Leo D., Syracuse, N. Y.
Kelley, Miss Nellie F., Syracuse, N. Y.
Kelley, Paul W., Syracuse, N. Y.
Leslie, Grey, Washington, D. C.
McGuire, Mrs. A. J., St. Paul, Minn.
McKenna, Daniel J., Detroit, Mich.
Maloney, Justin C., Spokane, Washington
Mathews, Daniel F., Syracuse, N. Y.
Miller, H. Gregory, Hillsdale, N. J.
Moore, J. Edmund, Syracuse, N. Y.
O'Brien, Michael C., Brooklyn, N. Y.
O'Neill, Dr. Joseph F., Philadelphia, Pa.
Paul, J. M., Hyattsville, Md.
Reiner, Jonas, Ossining, N. Y.
Touhey, John T., Syracuse, N. Y.
Verdiani, Vincent, Syracuse, N. Y.
Zinn, Elmer, Grand Rapids, Mich.

“English” and the Catholic revival

J. L. Maddux

It has long been the fashion for critics of contemporary American Catholic culture to cast an eye of sadness about them and bewail the distressing absence of Catholic writers. While these observers differ somewhat on precisely what ought to be considered the essential definition of the “Catholic” scribe, everyone seems pretty well satisfied that whoever he be, he is not among us in sufficient quantity. Most suggestions of this type proceed to analyze the various facets of the difficulty, and usually end by pointing out the path we are to travel should we seriously wish to solve the problem.

Not infrequently the finger of accusation is leveled in the direction of educators. It is heavily hinted that we examine our consciences and ferret out such lacunae in the schools as may be responsible for the scanty number of prominent artists. Just how seriously most administrators and professors take these admonitions is hazardous to say, but as it is a question of producing writers, it seems reasonable to suppose that of all teachers English teachers ought to be especially concerned. In any case, finding myself with a minor role in the business on the college level, I personally find the accusation both stimulating and curious.

The problem, one fears, has been greatly oversimplified. We are concerned with writers. We plead for them. But one cannot escape feeling that we are asking for the wrong thing. Would it not be better if we were more concerned with producing thinkers rather than writers. They are not the same product, I think. The writer is a fellow who puts words down a piece of paper, and he is a good or bad writer depending on how artfully he gets them down. Obviously enough, the writer, as a writer, is an artist; and art as such cares not a fig over *what* is made, but only *how* it is made. *Recta ratio factibilium*, as the Schoolmen point out, concerns itself exclusively with the use of means towards an end. Whether or not the end is in itself worth striving for is no concern of art. It may be and in fact always is a concern of prudence; but prudence is far from being art.

It becomes evident then that the mere art of writing, desirable and necessary as it may be, will guarantee no man the ability to think. To write a book effectively and to write a significant book are two quite distinct operations, and if education is to look after the growth of Catholic culture it seems imperative that we savor carefully the educational implications of the distinction.

That is why I feel that our concern as English teachers should consciously be more in the direction of producing the thinker, the man of contemplation, and only secondly the writer. Education aims generally, after all, at making men human. And if its chief function is to develop the total personality of the student into a harmoniously in-

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tegrated whole, teaching him an art, be it the art of writing, the art of bridge building, or the art of business administration, can hardly be considered the principal part of the process. What matters is that he become first a man. Once that is assured, let him become an artist if he will.

Now clearly it is the *man* who is the thinker, and not the artist. The habit of wisdom, the goal of intellectual activity, is a question of thought, not of making. And it is only wisdom that can guarantee seriously significant writing. Not, of course, that every wise man is by that very process a writer, but the patent fact is that it is far more important to know what to say and not to say it, than to know nothing or the wrong thing and attempt to say *it*. There are a good many writers today saying nothing or the wrong thing and the greatest danger to culture lies in the fact that they are saying it so well.

Viewed in this light, the problem of producing writers takes on a new aspect for the Catholic teacher of English. He can with gusto set about his business of training artists in composition courses, but he will not make the mistake of thinking that he is thereby securing the future of the Catholic literary revival. Rather he will perhaps be made concerned with doing what he can to train the thinker, the man of contemplation. To attain this end he has at hand his courses in literature. But it is precisely here, I think, that we English teachers are in danger of making a huge mistake.

The mistake lies in thinking that literature's function in the formation of the contemplative man is greater than it actually is. Are we not apt to forget that literature is at its best but a *preparation* for contemplation, and not at all the state itself? Literature provides the student with a vision of reality; it tells him the truth, but not the whole of the truth. He must, if the fulness of reality be his goal, interpret the vision in the light of facts the vision itself does not reveal. Literature is preoccupied with concretizing, but the truth concretized belongs to another order altogether. It is primarily at the founts of philosophy and theology that the student must drink if he is to contemplate.

I do not deny that literature itself is at times both philosophy and theology of a high order, but its formality is usually rather that of concretion and not the reduction of experience to prime principles. Literature pictures being and its Source, but it does not generally investigate the ultimate framework of the universe. It is in large

part concerned with the singular; like our senses, it deals with the individual existing creature and does not attempt to trace the individual back to a more remote and universal pattern. That operation is ordinarily reserved to the science of being or, in the case of revealed truth, to the science of theology.

Now it is clear that we see nothing right in reality if we do not see the wholeness of it. The individual is fully intelligible only in relation to all else that is, and if the student hopes to grasp reality in the full sunlight of truth and not merely in the shaded twilight so characteristic of much contemporary thought, he must explore the universe in the two sciences which professedly make that their business.

Perhaps our difficulty as teachers lies in the fact that we were born into an age that started out as an age of specialization, and ended by becoming an age of atomizing. No better word describes the state of contemporary civilization than the term atomic. We have indeed entered upon the atomic age. But the regrettable truth is that the atom is the symbol of disintegration in both philosophy and physics. Symbolically it represents the antithesis of unity and hierarchic order. Separation of Church and State, of science and philosophy, of religion and education, all of these are bedfellows of the same fallacy.

Not only has literature been greatly disassociated from philosophy and theology; it has actually tended to become their substitute. I do not say that Catholic educators have gone this far, but the unfortunate fact is that many of us have been trained, particularly in our graduate work, in this sort of atmosphere, and in any case the fog of secular education lies so heavy upon the modern world that we are isolated scholars indeed if we have not breathed of its thickness.

What is important is that we do not get lost in the fog. But I fear we are doing just that whenever we begin to evaluate our job as literateurs in any other light than the suggested one of preparing our students for contemplation. Unless we make a serious effort to integrate our teaching with philosophy and theology, are we not making of the business something it has no claim to be; an unconnected and wholly self-explanatory science? Let us train artists in our composition courses and provide the preparation for becoming wise men in our literature courses, and we will have done our part well.

Looked at from this point of view, the problem of producing more Catholic writers does not appear to be principally an "English" problem at all. One feels that Fr. Francis Beauchesne Thornton's observation that the relative weakness of the American contribution to the Catholic literary revival is traceable to the immense difficulty in leading a contemplative life in America is profoundly true. We are forever making things in America. Artists in the root sense of art we have in confusing abundance. But as was noted, art in itself is indifferent to what is made; all it concerns itself with is the *well-made*ness of what the artist as a thinker conceives. And it is in our thinking power that we are weak.

With our twofold function as instructors in the art of composition and novice masters in the work of contemplation, we English-department people can of course help immensely in producing the type of thinker and writer our crumbling culture so seriously calls for. But let us not imagine our role to be any greater than it actually is. It is the ordered hierarchy of disciplines in education that matters. Anything else is disintegration. Anything else is retrogression. And heaven knows we are little enough along the road as it is to think for a moment of retrogression.

Return of the prodigal

Now he was coming voluntary home
Before the padfoot Death could run him in;
And this, to his happy heart, was the whole tome
Of comedy, and in itself divine:
Miraculously his drink-illumined eyes
Had seen the blessed wafer in the husk,
And he had been God-readied in the sties,
Had lit the love-star by his self-made dusk.

There was a tuneful chuckle in his breast
Carillonning his heart. Now any time,
Even when his soul was most distrest,
He need but listen to this merry chime—
That God employed (He has quaint deputies)
O Lord!—a pig to grunt where Heaven lies!

A. E. JOHNSON

On this Rock

Die, justice, in the square, efficient rooms,
Where the lighting is good,
And the microphones huddle
Like a group of old gossips,
Casting shadows in the noontide glare,
Greedy for lies,
Dazed by the splendor
Of sharp command and soldierly back
And smart little men with an air of authority,
Carrying briefcases,
Busy with sorting the leavings of torture—
Cleaning up, righting,
Picking up adverbs, dropped untidily
From reckless sentences swift in their pain—
Neat little men, latest edition,
Roaming the world for the ruin of souls.
O die there, but rise, strong justice,
Where the red robes and the purple pass
Down the long, cool halls,
Past the flamboyant statues, the Renaissance gold,
Beyond all this, and the splendor of ages,
To the wide halls or the small room,
Where Peter sits in white judgment,
Awful as truth, sharp as love.

There in the ancient city, home of thy resurrections,
Where Caesar often killed thee, justice, once more rise
again,

JOHN HAZARD WILDMAN

Economic royalist

THE GREAT PIERPONT MORGAN

By Frederick Lewis Allen. Harper. 306p. \$3.50

John Pierpont Morgan Sr. wore his crown well. Rich, powerful, lavish, majestic, yet despising mere ostentation, he lived regally, gave generously and governed his economic forces brilliantly. A pillar of his church, he recognized God's place in His heaven. A traditionalist, he enjoyed the unity and happiness of his family, and collected treasures of art and culture. A "conservative," he upheld the principles of laissez-faire and the importance of personal character in business; yet he was the "radical" who revolutionized the organization of industry and finance. Twice did the salutary use of his financial power stand between the nation and ruin.

Of all the economic royalists of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Morgan most completely personified what was best in the entire system of economic individualism. Thus does biographer Allen portray him in a successful attempt to tell a great life story well and without bias.

With an exhaustive study of Morgan's career behind him, Allen intends to portray and interpret Morgan's life as Morgan's contemporaries knew it. He offers no thesis, either that Morgan was saint or devil, hero or knave. When history offers no record, Allen makes no judgment of Morgan's motives according to his own preconceived notions. He is sympathetic, yet objective. Apparently his own social philosophy differs from Morgan's, but he interprets Morgan's philosophy according to the norms of the latter's own contemporaries. As a result, Allen has produced a book of real value for anyone interested in American history and social philosophy.

Many a great chapter in the history of American development included Morgan as a main character. The continuous and destructive anarchy among the railroads ended when Morgan's financial and organizational genius brought them under unified control. To the House of Morgan came Democratic President Grover Cleveland in a last successful attempt to save the nation's vanishing gold supply. In this episode author Allen introduces data indicating that Morgan made far less profit on the transaction than has commonly been thought.

Came the turn of the century, and with it Morgan's organization of the first billion-dollar corporation, United States Steel. The Anthracite Coal Strike of 1902 was settled shortly after Morgan interfered with the operators' uncooperative policy. The Northern Se-

curities Company was formed as a result of railroader Harriman's partially successful raid on Morgan's control, but soon ran afoul of the Supreme Court in a celebrated decision. The most remarkable achievement of Morgan's career was his thrilling victory at the age of 70 over the panic of 1907, when, but for him, the banking system must surely have crumbled completely. That was his great effort. He died shortly after his forthright testimony before the Pujo Committee a few years later.

The chief value of Allen's book, and not necessarily but possibly its underlying motive, is its presentation of economic individualism at its best. Anyone can condemn a system at its worst, in its weaknesses; but only when even its strength is proved to be defective can its condemnation be valid. This book enables us to condemn that system at its best.

Despite his religious observance and his generosity, Morgan simply had no notion of the social obligations of property and economic enterprise. For him, morality was limited to a man's honor in keeping his word. There was no question in his mind of a connection between his colossal expense accounts and the poverty of American labor. By philosophy and experience he was convinced that government had no place in business, that its bungling politicians were incapable of understanding, much less of guiding, business operations.

BOOKS

On the other hand, despite his assurance of his own righteousness and his efforts toward what he considered necessary for the general welfare, his criteria of the common good were as deficient as his vision of the total (*human*) economy. Obviously, not all of Morgan's principles were bad—in fact, some were excellent. Understood correctly, we would agree with him that industrial anarchy must be prevented, that government should stay out of business as much as possible. But the application of those principles through the control of autocratic, irresponsible, amoral power simply cannot be defended. Since Morgan himself could best indicate the shortcomings of today's statist "do-gooders," this book could be a powerful weapon in the hands of an apologist for autonomous industrial councils as the most promising form of socio-economic organization today.

Mr. Allen tells his story with an informal charm, an easy style and a wealth of interesting history that guarantee prospective readers an enjoyable and profitable experience.

JOSEPH B. SCHUYLER

As we were viewed

THIS WAS AMERICA

Edited by Oscar Handlin. Harvard. 602p. \$6

Just as few Americans have hesitated to record their impressions of foreign countries, so have numerous visitors to these shores indulged in accounts of American activities. Since the foreigner is frequently able to write from a more detached and unbiased point of view than the native, his report may contain such illuminating information that it becomes a valuable source of historical material. Professor Handlin of Harvard has gathered and edited the observations of forty of these travelers to the United States. Their comments constitute a vivid panorama of the American scene.

The earliest published account in *This Was America* dates from 1753, and was written by the Swedish naturalist, Peter Kalm. The concluding comments, which appeared in 1939, are some of the observations André Malraux made during his literary tours in this country. French and German writers contributed exactly one-half of the selections. Other national groups represented are Ital-

ian, Dutch, Scandinavian, Austrian, Hungarian, Spanish, Czech, Rumanian and Russian.

Not only do the commentators represent a variety of national backgrounds; there is also a diversity of personal interests and professions. Included here are remarks by businessmen, government officials, artists, scientists, exiles and clergymen. Few were professional writers, and only a small number of names, excepting the inevitable Crèvecoeur and de Tocqueville, are at all familiar. Professor Handlin, moreover, is responsible for furnishing the first English translation of several of the selections.

Discovering consistencies in such heterogeneous material might, at first, appear to be an impossibility. Yet in all the discourses there is the consistent theme of an eagerness to learn about things American. These visitors came to satisfy an almost limitless curiosity; they came to observe, inquire and, occasionally, to criticize. When they returned to their homes, many were better informed about life in the United States than Americans themselves. Accuracy and completeness of detail were essentials in preparing accounts for an audience with little information on the subject.

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There is no aspect of American civilization that did not attract the attention of one of the visitors at some time or other. Most of the comments have been directed to the distinctive features of the new world—the physical surroundings and the cultural structure, plus American politics and economics. Attention is also given to countless intimate details that are the incidentals and revealing sidelights of history: dress, gambling, sports, humor, drinking and Sabbath practices. Almost unanimous conclusions are reached about three subjects: the elevated position of American women, with added appreciation of their beauty; the liberty granted to children, but with no reference to their being "spoiled"; and the paradox of widespread racial discrimination in a political democracy. Although a few of the generalizations are too expansive for accuracy, the comments are otherwise edifying and astute.

The editor has done a commendable job in compiling this important study of the American past. It is important for its many significant historical details; but it is especially important for divulging what impressed forty Europeans who carefully studied us and our ways and customs at different times in our development.

WILLIAM G. TYRRELL

Inside labor story

UNION GUY

By Clayton Fountain. Viking. \$2.75.

There should be more books on labor like *Union Guy*. Here is an interesting story of a man who has worked for twenty-one years, on and off, in the automobile industry. Clayton Fountain came to Detroit immediately prior to the Great Depression in search of fame and fortune. He worked for Chrysler and General Motors, lost his job, became a hobo, participated in the beginnings and development of the United Automobile Workers-CIO, joined the Communist Party, became disillusioned by Red treachery, and ended up in his present position, doing publicity work for the UAW.

The whole crude story of labor relations in the automobile industry is recorded here, the petty tyranny of the bosses, the horrible working conditions, the resistance to trade unionism, the seamy side of union politics, the communist infiltration into responsible

union positions, the victory of Walter Reuther, and a great deal more.

Fountain explains his early propensity toward communism in this fashion:

I do not recall the exact process of reasoning that made me a communist sympathizer. . . . The Communists were the first group I had found who claimed to have an answer to economic disaster. . . . I had heard no other program that sounded as positive as the communist line, so I fell for it.

Several years later, while still a member of the Party, he felt: "Communism to me did not mean Russia. It meant a cause which I believed to be devoted to humanitarian and liberal objectives." He ultimately learned that that "Communists are not really interested in doing things for the workers as such; they are interested in power harnessed to serve Russia."

It is worth while to report the opinion of this ex-Communist but liberal trade unionist on the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists:

The ACTU is concentrated in Detroit [sic], but has a few outposts scattered around the country. Trained and directed by the Catholic Church to build democratic unionism and to fight communism within labor, the ACTU people

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have earned the violent hatred of the CP. Nor is the Party the only group that looks with suspicion at the ACTU; most orthodox leftists, remembering historical incidents when the Catholic Church has fought on the side of reaction, do not trust the Catholic trade unionists. My own opinion is that this mistrust is out of place. From personal experience with ACTU unionists, I have come to believe that their loyalty to the union is unquestionable. Speaking for myself only, I would say that the ACTU has made an important contribution to the ousting of Communists and fellow travelers from the UAW-CIO leadership.

The only flaw in the book, as far as this reviewer is concerned, may be found in the writer's style. His language at times is vulgar and uncouth. While these lapses are not too frequent, they do jar the reader, particularly when Fountain shows how well he can write when he really warms up to his subject.

GEORGE A. KELLY

BUT THE MORNING WILL COME

By Cid Ricketts Sumner. Bobbs-Merrill. 302p. \$3

Can the South solve its Negro problem in its own way and its own time, and has it something to learn from the North and something to reject? Mrs. Sumner, in answering yes to all these questions, writes an absorbing novel, balanced, devoid of sensationalism, and yet original and striking in theme and development.

The problem is that of a young wife on a Mississippi plantation, distressed by her husband's moody reaction to her pregnancy, discovering accidentally the terrible reason for the family fears and repressions, and ultimately working out her own salvation and that of her child who inherits a strain of Negro blood. Suddenly flung into that dark world she has lived close to without thinking much about, identified with it through her son, she looks out through Negro eyes and finds it bitter and hopeless.

Many eyes look at the challenge of the separated worlds in the course of the book, and the more forthright consider and modify each other's views. Where passions are ancient, strong and deep, the change will be slow and hard but the clear-sighted will work patiently, naturally, courageously from within. This, says the author, who belongs to both North and South, is the best way. She concludes on a note of firm confidence that "the morning will come."

The novel contains a high point of drama in a beautifully understated scene of near-lynching, when the plantation owner, hating Negroes with the deadly fear born of his identity with them, and despising this ex-servant in

particular, saves him from the mob. The act of splendid courage had little to do with the intended victim himself, or with his guilt or innocence. It is prompted solely by a regard for law and order and the justice due a man. But who shall say that in this devotion there is not an implicit dedication to the rights of the human person as a child of God? MARJORIE HOLLIGAN

THE BASING-POINT SYSTEM

By Fritz Machlup. Blakiston. 275p. \$5

If some business men felt relieved by the recent death of Prof. Fetter of Princeton, an old and hot antagonist of the basing-point pricing system, they are immediately put back on tenterhooks by this book of Prof. Machlup. Prof. Fetter had been a bit of an extremist and, in this way, had weakened his "objectivity" in his many writings, court testimony and congressional hearings; but he was on the right track, as one may judge by Prof. J. M. Clark's public congratulations for "a well and valiantly earned personal triumph in an attack on a far-from-perfect condition" (*American Economic Review*, March, 1949, p. 436).

Prof. Machlup, an ex-businessman, is much more objective, but even he cannot present a cold and fair treatment of the problem (e.g. when he lists ten clear and "controversial" provisions under which this pricing practice could have been condemned). This is because he does not have a heart of stone; and any reader who notes the historical facts in his argument will also be impelled to cast all doubts aside as the outrageous and unfair methods are detailed by which business men sought, and are still seeking, to avoid honest inquiry into this supposedly "competitive" pricing. By clear and, at times, brilliant analysis, Professor Machlup proves that basing-point pricing is inherently collusive, discriminatory, economically wasteful on several counts, and helpful to industrial concentration of control. Only veteran students of the problem will feel that he has slighted the question of long-run capacity in the steel and cement industries; or that the alleged convertibility of "phantom freight" with "freight absorption" is based on too much dynamic analysis.

This earthy study of what some business men do, as distinguished from what they say, should be very interesting for those who think that price is determined by supply and demand, or that competition can be the sole guide in the marketplace. Catholic readers will find endless moral problems: the basing-point system itself, various types of economic discrimination, conflicts of private and social welfare.

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apparent acceptance by business men, and even by Prof. Machlup (pp. 33 ff.), of the principle that there is no wrong in doing what the law has not yet illegalized, no matter how discriminatory the action may be or how harmful to the social good. In complicated business matters, business men stay holy by hoaxing the courts and duping legislators with deliberate deceit (p. 108). The question is: are the economic actions they defend so ruthlessly always morally wrong? To put it strongly, the book has enough modern problems in social justice for a generation of moral theologians. R. C. JANCAUSKAS

TIMELESS

By Prince Nicolas Tchkotoua. Murray & Gee. 256p. \$3.50

Here is a story which, without a single touch of violence, with no external accidents or any attempt at box-office effects, holds the interest of the reader with a quiet enchantment from the first page to the last.

Originally of the Greek Orthodox Church, Prince Tchkotoua is a convert to Catholicism. Although this book does not in any way obtrude a philosophy, it is undoubtedly the possession of a "map of life," together with the sense that it does profoundly matter what his characters do, that makes the reader feel the writer's vitality and gives the book its charm.

The fascinating background of the story has been comparatively unexplored in the fiction of the English-speaking world, for it is laid in Prince Tchkotoua's native land of Georgia, from which he has been forced into exile by the communist regime. It is a land full of romance and poetry, not at all consistent with the strange phenomenon of Stalin, whom a misguided section of the modern world probably calls its most realistic production.

The story opens with a conversation between an old Baroness, of dignity and grace, and her granddaughter, who is breathlessly announcing her engagement. The author defies the conventions by making the grandmother's advice entirely sympathetic. It is subtly indicated that the Baroness had been through a saddening experience in her early days, owing to outside interference with her engagement, and would like to prevent a similar happening for her granddaughter.

After this conversation the Baroness has an unusual rendezvous with death. She goes her way to a secluded cemetery where a funeral is taking place—the funeral of the lover lost so many years ago. The grandson of the deceased approaches her at the close of the ceremony and gives her a package: "It is something left by my grand-

father. . . . He knew you would come. He asked me to give this to you." She takes it away with her and finds it is the story of the man's life.

I will not mar the reader's pleasure by telling that story here. It is full of those fine shades of feeling which are possible only to a writer who has a "map of life" and knows the direction in which he is going.

The characters are vividly drawn, because the author seems to know them personally, and there is one scene, in a Georgian monastery, of a very remarkable kind. It is told without the slightest artifice, and appears in every detail to be as natural as the surrounding winter landscape. It is not until the reader, with the protagonist of the story, is taking leave of the monastery on the following day, that either of them realizes he has been in touch with the timeless and the supernatural.

There is nothing sensational here by the standards of modern sensation, but the thoughtful reader who can give *Timeless* a few quiet hours will find that it casts a spell upon him which it is difficult to break. ALFRED NOYES

FREEDOM OF INFORMATION

By Herbert Brucker. Macmillan. 307p. \$4.

The traditional argument for freedom of the press—that the newspapers' freedom from external control assures men the information they need to judge events of the day—is behind the times, says Herbert Brucker. Operating costs today practically forbid most men the use of the press, and of the movies and radio, which theoretically is theirs. As a result, much information and many opinions which the old theory says will inevitably be published actually never are. But the opinions and the evidence for the opinions of the few men who dominate the instruments of mass communication are dinned in people's ears.

In this situation, says Brucker, external control of these instruments, a proposal which some offer as a corrective, is useless. It would only substitute the domination of one view for another. To assure people the knowledge they need it is necessary to apply a new idea and uphold a new ideal. The idea is that journalism be freed from all non-journalistic control, give up its adherence to parties and policies, and become the profession of reporting and judging all aspects of events with "scientific" objectivity. The ideal is the new journalist, professionally and unselfishly dedicated to that task.

The problem Brucker thus describes has often been stated before, although never so clearly and forcefully as here.

The solution, which he perceptively

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if not profoundly elaborates, is based on the proposition that people can be assured of the knowledge they need only if the men on whom they depend for it set about honestly to give it to them, divorcing themselves from whatever hinders their effort.

That would seem an obvious enough answer to the problem, but it is not the only answer that has been given. Kenneth Stewart, with whom Brucker takes too brief issue, and some of the Nieman Fellows at Harvard, whom he ignores, have come out strongly for what they describe as personal and subjective interpretation as the best means of letting men know what goes on in the world. Brucker's answer, whatever may be said about the practical methods he advances for applying it, is more reasonable than that. But the reader is likely to wonder what has been going on in the minds of journalists and teachers of journalism when the objective (which presumably is the truthful presentation of news) can now be advanced as something new.

DAVID HOST

JOSEPH B. SCHUYLER, S.J., did his graduate studies in sociology at Saint Louis University.

WILLIAM G. TYRRELL is an instructor in American history and government at Columbia University.

REV. GEORGE A. KELLY is Director of St. Monica's Labor School in New York, professor of Labor Ethics at Saint Joseph's Seminary and an associate chaplain of ACTU.

ALFRED NOYES is the well-known novelist and poet.

MARJORIE HOLLIGAN has written for trade journals and is one of the editors of *Tower Postscript*, organ of the Manhattanville College Alumnae Association.

DAVID HOST is a professor in the Marquette University School of Journalism.

THE WORD

"For the Father Himself loves you, because you have loved Me."

It may be that Congress should decorate Joe with the Medal of Honor. It may be that he should be called to Washington to have his hand shaken by the President. Possibly he should be officially commended by the United Nations. For all I know—and I am



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May issue (p. 214)

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DAILY NEWS

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—N.Y. TIMES

perfectly serious—he has saved us from the atomic catastrophe of World War III.

From our house to the shopping center is a half-mile walk. From the shopping center to our house is much longer; or seems so. It must have seemed endless to Joe the other day.

My wife told me the story when I came home from work. She pointed to a paper bag on a shelf in the kitchen, its mouth twisted tightly shut and somewhat begrimed, as if someone had held it and squeezed it for a long time.

She said she had sent Joe to the store for something, and there was money left over after he paid for his purchase. So he went to another store and bought something else.

He came home carrying the paper sack, clutching it tightly, holding it out in front of him and away from him. He handed it to his mother and said: "You'd better enjoy it; it cost fifty cents." Then he stood smiling with a vast anticipation.

His mother opened the bag and looked inside. It was half-filled with Joe's favorite candy. "I didn't touch it," he told her. "I didn't even open it and smell it."

She knew why. Joe had given up candy for Lent. He had given up candy for Christ. Having done so, he wanted to give to some one else the pleasure he was denying to himself. It is the fasting saint who most enjoys seeing others happy at their meals.

I balanced the bag of candy in my hand. "Imagine him," I said, "walking a half-mile carrying this, drooling at every step. We ought to put this in a glass case and preserve it as a family heirloom. For lesser heroisms than this, men have worn the ribbon of the Legion of Honor."

And it may be that Joe should be wearing the Medal of Honor. At some point in that half-mile walk, the last necessary drop may have fallen into the chalice of sacrifice which is to turn aside the justice of God from mankind, and bring down His mercy upon all of us.

Perhaps on another day, in another world, we shall know that atomic death was averted from our home because of what Joe did that day. Who knows? One thing is certain—for him there is laid aside a decoration that will never tarnish. The Father Himself loves him, because he has proved his love for His Son.

JOSEPH A. BREIG

THEATRE

MEDEA, like most of Euripides' plays, lacks the grandeur and spiritual austerity that are found in the works of earlier Greek dramatists. In *Antigone* an admirable character is defeated in an honorable cause. In *Oedipus Rex*, malicious fates frustrate a man's efforts to do what is right. Descending from Sophocles to Euripides, we find dramatic values reduced from the universal to the personal. While *Antigone* is a heroine, a defender of human dignity, *Medea* is merely a jealous woman.

Her story is less tragic than sensational. Indeed, it reverses the formula of tragedy—the defeat of a good man or a righteous cause—offering instead the ordeal of a woman successful in vengeance. The motivation of the play is the fury of a woman scorned. Except for its facile dialog, *Medea* comes close to melodrama without the expected happy ending.

The title role, however, offers an actress with a talent for tragedy an excellent vehicle for displaying her gifts to the general gaze. Cast as the name character, Judith Anderson lends her personality to the role and makes Medea's grief more pathetic and her rage more justifiable than the author described them. She almost makes the character's vengeance less than revolting. Miss Anderson's Medea, in voice and gesture, is a woman betrayed and confused in an alien land, a truly tragic figure, deserving more compassion than the avenging vixen created by Euripides.

As staged by Guthrie McClintic, the *Medea* presented at New York City Center Theatre, aside from Miss Anderson's sensitive performance, is a series of stage pictures that effectively suggest the atmosphere and background of the gory and tearful story. Arranged and rearranged in plastic groups, moving when they must in nervous silence, the actors provide the action with an air of horror, which become more intense when their lines are delivered in sepulchral tones. The set, designed by Ben Edwards, and the costumes, by Castillo, heighten the effect of impending doom. Mr. McClintic is the producer.

His *Medea* was a Broadway hit and now returns from a triumphant road tour. The producer should be rather proud of Medea's record under his management. Still, while counting his profits from the production, he must know in his heart that his *Antigone* was superior drama.

THEOPHILUS LEWIS

FILMS

HOME OF THE BRAVE is a picture with a timely and laudable message—the evils of anti-Negro prejudice. It is also, which does not necessarily follow, a fine movie. Films with serious themes must be judged, not on the admirableness of what they have to say but on the skill of their presentation and the validity of their dramatic framework. On these scores *Home of the Brave* acquits itself very creditably. Based on Arthur Laurents' stage play (which incidentally concerned itself with anti-Semitism) it is about a sensitive, intelligent young Negro soldier (James Edwards) who is suffering from amnesia and shock-paralysis after participating in a dangerous surveying mission behind Japanese lines on a South Pacific island. The cause of his condition, which has its roots in insecurity and discrimination, is brought out as the film flashes back, through the probing of an Army psychiatrist (Jeff Corey), to the incidents on the island. Psychiatry has been much abused as a movie device but here it is both credible and lucid without seeming oversimplified. The remarkable thing about the film, however, is its absence of preaching. While making a strong appeal both to the emotions and the intelligence, it does so entirely within the context of an absorbing and believable story. Its characters are people, not symbols, its dialog approximates salty, barracks-room jargon without precluding a *family classification*. What faults it has lie in somewhat too literal adherence to the play and not in its direction or performances (Steve Brodie, Lloyd Bridges, Douglas Dick and Frank Lovejoy complete a cast composed of actors rather than stars) which are first rate. (20th Century-Fox)

mantic delusion that he was a dedicated genius needing only her inspiration to paint a masterpiece. This much of the film promised an entertaining social satire. With our heroine settled in the noisome slum that was Britannia Mews and discovering that her husband's quest in life was for whisky and women rather than inspiration, the mood became more akin to that of *East Lynne*. The artist's fatal and most opportune plunge from a balcony while in his cups cleared the air—but only temporarily. An additional dose of good old-fashioned melodrama and several hard pulls at the long arm of coincidence conspired to keep his long-suffering widow in the Mews to work out what was presumably intended to be a significant destiny. This is duly accomplished through the advent of an indigent actor bearing a striking resemblance to her dead husband (and providing Mr. Andrews with an opportunity to play a dual role), and is accompanied by some distressingly immature sex comedy and as distasteful a treatment of marriage as I've seen in a long time. Some fine period atmosphere and a couple of distinguished English characters are lost in the general confusion. (20th Century-Fox)

THE STREETS OF LAREDO is a repetitious horse-opera in which the standard "bad man" (MacDonald Carey) has to perform about three times the usual quota of dastardly deeds before his erstwhile pal, turned Texas Ranger (William Holden), can be persuaded to put duty above friendship. A plethora of Technicolor blood-letting suggests an exclusively *adult* audience but does nothing to prevent the end-product from being static and unconvincing. (Paramount)

MOIRA WALSH

PARADE

(A LADY ENTERS BILL'S TAXI-cab, gives directions.)

Lady (as cab starts): Driver, the longer I live the more deeply I realize what a changing world this is. Nothing stays the same.

Bill: You got something there, ma'am. *Lady*: Consider this example. Cats formerly basked before the fireside of the home. Then, as firesides were eliminated, cats had no choice but to curl up beneath the kitchen stove. Now another change looms.

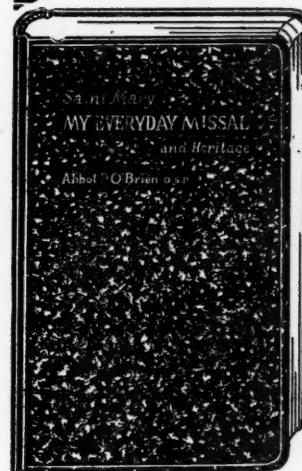
Bill: What's this, ma'am?

Lady: The latest stoves are built right down to the floor. Cats can't get under them. You can see the implications for

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cats—they have got no place to go. *Bill*: This don't sound so good, ma'am. *Lady* (raising her voice): Don't think cats are without defenders, driver. Cat-lovers are launching a campaign against these new stoves. I'm on my way to a meeting now.

Bill: I wish you luck, ma'am.

Lady: You seem sympathetic toward our cause, driver.

Bill: I ain't never had no feeling against cats, ma'am.

Lady: Good. So many people resent cats. (Cab stops at destination. A man runs to cab, get in after lady steps out.)

Bill (to new passenger): That lady was talking about the changes coming to cats.

Passenger: Changes come to everything, even to whistles. Think of this. At the turn of the century, the cost of blowing a locomotive whistle was negligible. Just before the last war, the cost had increased to one-third of a cent. Now each toot of an engine costs two-thirds of a cent. It won't be long before toots will cost a cent each.

Bill: This ain't hay, mister.

Passenger: Not when you count the millions of toots rising up every day and night from the nation as a whole.

Bill: You a railroad man, mister?

Passenger: No, I'm in the junk business... I just heard a lecture entitled: "Whither Now, Little Man?" The speaker brought out things like this about the whistle. Here's something else. Did you know the motion of the earth is slowing down?

Bill: I'll be frank, mister. I don't know this before.

Passenger: Well, it is, and this makes it harder to check the right time. Scientists just made an error of four one-thousandths of a second a day.

Bill: They did? Well, well.

Passenger: That means clocks lose four seconds every century.

Bill: What are they going to do about it?

Passenger: They're trying to cut the error by one-thousandth of a second daily. Then we'd lose only one second every 300 years.

Bill: That's better.

Passenger: I'll say it's better. Let's hope they succeed. Well, here's my place. (Cab stops. Passenger alights. Bill drives back to corner stand, tells Louis about conversations.)

Bill: Louie, with everything in the world changing, wouldn't it be awful if God was changing also?

Louie: Awful is right.

Bill: Nobody would have nothing to hang on to for sure.

Louie: Nobody would know where he stood day by day.

Bill: Thank God, God don't change. That's what I say.

Louie: You and me both, Bill.

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Asbestos strike in Canada

EDITOR: In your issue of April 23, 1949 you commented on the asbestos strike in Canada. We consider the comment unfair to Canadian Johns-Manville Company, Ltd., and are convinced that it was written with an inadequate knowledge of all of the facts in the situation.

For twelve years our company enjoyed excellent relations with the Catholic Syndicate of Asbestos. Within the past two or three years this Union has eliminated the word "Catholic" from its title, and has affiliated with the National Federation of the Employees of the Mining Industries. Into the latter came new radical leadership, which in January of 1949 presented demands that covered not only the customary field of collective bargaining—wages, hours and working conditions—but also attempted to usurp the rights of ownership by attempting to take over management's right to manage.

Conciliators of the Provincial Government were unable to get the labor leaders to carry on real collective bargaining, and under the law of the Province the Minister of Labor called for arbitration. The company agreed, the Union agreed, and then within 24 hours called a strike of 5,000 workers in five different mines, representing 95 per cent of the asbestos production of Canada and two-thirds of the asbestos production of the world.

The Provincial authorities declared the strike illegal and ordered the Syndicate decertified as the authorized representative of our employees and the employees of all other asbestos plants in the area.

Your comment about "another test of strength" is an appeal to emotions which seems to me to be as little related to the facts as the reference to Tommy Manville, who has had no connection whatsoever with the management of Johns-Manville for more than twenty years.

Your review also failed to say anything about the commendable record the company has had in dealing with its employees so as to meet the true spirit of social justice. Wages paid by us are comparable with the highest paid in Canada. In the past ten years our wage rates have almost trebled; and in the past five years, more than doubled.

The company has spent over \$1,000,000 to minimize dust conditions. An impartial report of experts from the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company shows that the dust conditions in the Town of Asbestos are equal to or better than those prevailing in most industrial cities in the United States. Tuberculosis in any way traceable to dust is practically non-existent in Asbestos.

We have spent another \$1,000,000

CORRESPONDENCE

on hospitals, industrial clinics and safety programs, and have instituted plans for Group Life Insurance, Group Health and Accident Insurance and a Retirement Plan—all in the interests of improving the health and community happiness of our employees and their security in sickness and old age. We recently have spent \$150,000 for a new hospital and have turned over our old one to the community at nominal cost.

It is not correct to imply that the church supports the position of the strikers. The *Globe and Mail* of Monday, May 9, said:

Officially, the Roman Catholic Church is not in favor of the asbestos workers' strike, termed illegal by the Quebec Labor Department because the dispute never reached arbitration before the men left their jobs.

In Quebec, church leaders have made clear that the Church is in favor of Catholic workers' unions as a means of bringing about social peace according to the papal encyclicals *Rerum Novarum* and *Quadragesimo Anno*. It sympathizes with such unions. But not with strikes.

Monsignor J. C. Leclaire of St. Hyacinthe put forward the position of the church when he said: "Religious authorities have done their best to hasten (strike) settlement . . . taking into consideration the legitimate demands of both. Meanwhile misery strikes in various homes. It affects both women and children. Thus, charity becomes a duty for every one, to give their support to the workers and their families and give them, if at all possible, the material help they so urgently need."

"This is why we are asking all associations to collaborate with the religious authorities in organizing a campaign in favor of the families affected by the strike."

I think a careful examination would show that those Church representatives who support the strikers are decidedly in the minority.

The main issue in this strike is the right of management to manage. In this connection the *New York Times* of Wednesday, May 11, said: "Despite much loose thinking on the subject, and more loose talk, the perpetuation of a vigorous free enterprise system will depend, in our opinion, to a very large degree on how jealously management resists efforts to take over, in part or whole, its particular sphere of activity and responsibility."

Pope Pius XII in a speech released

from Vatican City on May 9 through Associated Press said in part: "The proprietor of the means of production—whatever he may be—must, always within the limits of the public right of the economy, remain the master of his economic decisions."

The United Press reported a speech by Francis Cardinal Spellman in Omaha on May 9 from which I quote:

In fair collective bargaining rests America's greatest hope for future peaceful labor relations. But in its processes men must guard themselves against selfish, domineering minority groups opposed to our democratic form of government, groups that refuse to solve their problems by this just device and use strikes as smokescreens to wage political war against America.

LEWIS H. BROWN
Chairman of the Board,
Johns-Manville Corporation
New York, N. Y.

Protest on Spain

EDITOR: As a Spaniard I protest against the rationalizations made by AMERICA (5/7/49) regarding the U.S. position on the Spanish issue. AMERICA claims the United States will follow a policy of abstention in connection with the return of ambassadors to Madrid, while encouraging Spain's entry into various international agencies. "Why this mincing behaviour on our part?" AMERICA writes that the State Department does not wish to offend large western segments unfavorable toward the Spanish regime, nor allow the communist press to exploit any show of "fondness for 'fascist' Spain" by the United States. However, AMERICA stresses that "when the chips are down . . . Spanish shortcomings and Soviet villainy will transform people's perspectives."

If Spaniards, because of "shortcomings," may not normally participate in international affairs during times of peace, then Spaniards refuse to shed their blood "when the chips are down." Spain is not begging for favors; she demands her due—that the United States merely grant her the same diplomatic representation the communist East has long had. Spaniards are not pawns to be shunned in peace and used in war.

Furthermore, Spaniards as Catholics first reject in its entirety the philosophy of pragmatism, and remember that the first abstention in the history of Christianity was voiced by Pilate.

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